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THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

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INFORMERS IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES I

The role of the pursuivants in the reign of Charles I is an aspect of recusant history that has been largely ignored in spite of its influence on the Catholics.[1] The king's messengers—the official title of the pursuivants[2]—were a seventeenth-century auxiliary police force employed by the Crown, and by governmental agencies such as the Privy Council, with extraordinary authority to trap, interrogate, and report Catholic recusants who violated the penal laws.

The messengers were generally men of average birth, amoral character, and cunning design. Their identity was often unknown to recusants, and because a few of the informers were apostates from the Church, they were occasionally admitted into a community of unsuspecting Catholics. The apprehension of priests, particularly, became a wicked trade in human life, and since the pursuivants' livelihood depended on it, they developed a sixth sense in directing decoys to incriminate their victims. Catholics, once summoned to the bar of the Privy Council, the High Commission, or the Quarter Sessions by accusers who more often than not fabri-

[1] I am grateful to the Social Science Research Council for a research fellowship in 1956-7 which enabled me to read materials in England.

[2] The title pursuivant (from the French *poursuivre,* to follow) originally was held by functionaries of the Herald's College ranking below a herald but having similar duties, or by pages to peers who took their titles from the armorial insignia of their lords. By the sixteenth century, pursuivant was a title given to Crown messengers, and then by extension to any messenger. This group included royal servants who did not enforce the penal laws, but who did the footwork of governmental councils, committees, and courts. Philip Caraman in *Henry Morse, Priest of the Plague* (London, 1957), pp. 41-2, describes a pursuivant as "any person who by office or self-appointment made or supplemented his livelihood by exacting the statutory reward for the arrest of priests. It included also servants of the sheriffs and the ecclesiastical authorities." Richard Holtby, a Jesuit who died in 1640, classified the pursuivants in three categories: servants of the Privy Council or king's messengers; officers of the Anglican bishops active in the North Country who usually travelled in pairs to capture Catholics sought for trial in the ecclesiastical courts; and ruffians in London who worked together under a leader. *Ibid.,* p. 42.

cated charges to win a statutory third of their prey's property, had little chance of acquittal or reprisal. Also, the informers frequently demanded money from Catholics who, faced with the alternative of blackmail or arrest, chose the former expedient as the lesser evil.[3]

The Government knew that injustice and corruption were perpetrated by its spies, and sometimes even punished them for it, but it felt that their work was useful not only as a means of enforcing the penal laws, but also as a source of income through their collection of recusancy fines. Several times during Charles' personal government the value of the pursuivants' work was questioned, but they continued to operate at least until the end of the first civil war in 1646.

The letters of priests and laymen alike reveal the fear with which Catholics regarded the informers who prowled most frequently in London and in the North Country where Catholics were numerous. Fr. William Ward related to Thomas Rant, a colleague in Flanders, how "the Promouters and informers inst[antly] at our Queenes comminge [Henrietta Maria] began to be very busye, and so have continued since, and seased many with processe. . . ." [4] Rant, describing persecution in London to a Jesuit in Rome, wrote that the Lord Mayor "seased here uppon many mens goodes through pursuivants . . ." and that "many a hundred [Catholics] have been utterly undonne, and many a more are in apparent danger. . . ." [5] News from Yorkshire was equally disheartening: "Matters for catholicks in England goe backward," Fr. Henry Clifford reported from Antwerp, for "informers and pursuivants are very busie, and shure many of our freinds in yourkshire feele the smart of it in their meanes and psons by such caterpillars." [6]

Frequently the Government used its messengers to collect arrears in rents arising from the practice of compounding with recusants. An Elizabethan statute of 1581 prescribed the enormous figure of £20 for every month that a convicted recusant failed to attend Anglican church service. Since few Catholics could meet their

[3] Westminster Cathedral Archives MSS. (Westminster Cathedral, London), A Series, XIX, June 1625, f. 166. Hereafter cited W.C.A. MSS.

[4] *Ibid.*, Roman Letters, 1624-36, 29 October 1624, f. 32.

[5] *Ibid.*, 18 October 1624, f. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, 15 November 1624, f. 47.

fines, and therefore fell in arrears, a later law of 1586 provided that upon their financial delinquency, two thirds of their land and all of their goods could be confiscated by the Crown to whom the recusants then paid rent. After 1629 the practice of allowing recusants to compound for leases of the seized portions of their land mitigated their hardships but brought on the intervention of pursuivants. In July, 1638, for example, the Exchequer sent two of them to Yorkshire to expedite the collection of rents. Since attorney general Sir John Bankes advised the Commissioners for Compounding in the North to take strict account of the money turned in by the pursuivants, the Crown must have distrusted them.[7]

The pursuivant, having the authority of the Government to rely on, was able to exercise the widest discretion in apprehending priests whose very presence in England was treasonous. The Privy Council, for example, empowered three informers, Richard Wainwright, John Cox, and William Birkenhead, to arrest Fr. George Leyburne, and commissioned John Wragg, another pursuivant, to use any means he chose to ferret out priests.[8] Moreover, recusants who were brought before the Council by a spy usually had no recourse at law. In one instance the councillors punished John Ayers, a Gloucestershire recusant, for beating a pursuivant who had arrested him without cause.[9]

Since a pursuivant could work most effectively when his identity was unknown to his victims, he naturally shunned notoriety to avoid detection by Catholics whose understandable caution made all strangers suspect. Also, since the informers disclosed their activities to the Government only when pointedly questioned about them, information about their personal lives is difficult to obtain. The names of the most important messengers appear often in the State Papers, in the minutes of the Privy Council's deliberations, and in court records. Less frequently, reference to them may be found in Catholic petitions and complaints. In addition, Catholic correspondents excluded all but the most general comment about informers for fear that a letter which fell into hostile hands

[7] Bodleian Sir John Bankes M.S. 72/3, 9 July 1638.

[8] Public Record Office (London), Privy Council registers MSS., P.C. 2/44, 22 February 1634, pp. 420-1.

[9] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, 425-6.

might tend to incite them. Few in number, the pursuivants were a closely-knit corps of men who worked alone or in pairs, and sometimes, as in the case of the London informers, in gangs under a leader such as Humphrey Cross or Francis Newton, who divided the profits among his accomplices. Names such as John Wragg, Thomas Mayo, Richard Tomlins, John Gray, John Cook, William Birkenhead and Richard Wainwright can be identified as those of pursuivants, but we know little about them.

Although information is scanty, the careers of two pursuivants might very well be typical. Perhaps the most notorious informer in the late 1620's was Humphrey Cross, who was first employed by the Privy Council on February 21, 1627, to apprehend Charles Powell, a recusant suspected of possessing sacerdotal vestments. Three months later Cross journeyed to St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk to fetch Richard Walker for questioning about recusancy,[10] and soon afterwards Cross arrested Lady Frances Purbeck, the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, a former chief justice of the Common Pleas. She had embraced Catholicism after long years of bitter unhappiness following her unfortunate marriage to Viscount Purbeck, the Duke of Buckingham's brother, who had lost his mind in 1620.[11] Lady Purbeck's subsequent conviction for adultery ruined her name and led to her incarceration in Gatehouse Prison.[12] This conviction brought Cross money, fame, and uncertain respect at court.[13]

Thereafter Cross took a lion's share of the most difficult cases involving the apprehension of priests. In March, 1628, for instance, the House of Commons learned that the former home of the Earl of Shrewsbury in Clerkenwell was the headquarters of a small group of Jesuits. Cross and his gang of pursuivants not only ar-

[10] *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1940), XLI (1627-8), 168 and 309. Cited hereafter as *A.P.C.*

[11] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series,* 1619-23, p. 405. Hereafter cited *S.P. Dom.*

[12] P.R.O., P.C. 2/44 (date?), p. 228. Lady Purbeck (d. 1645) was imprisoned until April, 1635 when she made a daring escape disguised as a man, and fled to Paris where she was converted to Catholicism by Sir Kenelm Digby. See also Gordon Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome, A Study in 17th Century Diplomacy* (London, 1935), p. 201; and S.C. Lomas, ed., *The Memoirs of Sir George Courthop, 1616-1685* (Camden Society Miscellany, London, 1907), XI, introduction.

[13] *A.P.C.*, XLI, 192.

rested and temporarily imprisoned nine priests, but also discovered letters which prompted a parliamentary investigation of Jesuit missionary work.[14]

Cross was further involved in the surveillance of Catholics who frequented the chapels of foreign ambassadors in London. The Privy Council had long been suspicious of approximately a hundred Catholics who heard Mass in the Durham House chapel of Marquis de Blainville, the French Ambassador. Accordingly, on Sunday morning, February 26, 1627, a number of pursuivants and constables including Cross took their places outside the embassy to arrest the recusants as they left. But Blainville outwitted Cross by sending out servants who rushed the guards and created a brawl in which several of them, including a pursuivant named Francis Griffith, were injured.[15] Although Cross bungled this assignment, his reputation continued to grow. Twice more in March, 1629, the Privy Council authorized him to organize parties of pursuivants and constables to arrest recusants who heard Mass in ambassadors' chapels.[16]

After that, Cross gradually fell into obscurity. There appears to be no further record of him until May 8, 1635, when George Leyburne, vicar-general of the secular priests in London, scribbled in the margin of a long letter, "Crosse the pursevant is dead a Catholique."[17] Exactly when he died is not certain; he may have expired as many as five months earlier when the Court of High Commission paid £50 to Faith Cross, "daughter of Humphrey Crosse, lately deceased."[18] Although we cannot be sure, there is

[14] *S.P. Dom.*, 1628-9, pp. 20, 53; P.R.O., P.C. 2/38, 18 April 1628, p. 84.

[15] J. H. Pollen, ed., *Miscellanea* (Publications of the Catholic Record Society, London, 1905), V, 94.

[16] P.R.O., P.C. 2/39, 13 March 1629, pp. 690-2. A later MS. shows Cross' diligence in this work: "This day [14 February 1631] Cutbert Prescott, John Cusack, George Matchett, Simon Price, John Browne & Margaret Clacke [were] taken by Humphrey Crosse one of the Messengers of his Majte's Chamber comming from masse from the Spanish Agente. . . ." P.R.O., P.C. 2/41 (1628?), p. 194.

[17] W.C.A. MS., A Series, XXVIII, 8 May 1635, f. 81. Fr. John Southcote, a prominent secular in London, noted Cross' conversion in his diary: "Crosse the famous pursevant died Catholick." J. H. Pollen, ed., *The Note-Book of John Southcote from 1623 to 1637* (Publications of the Catholic Record Society, London, 1905), I, 109.

[18] *S.P. Dom.*, 1635-6, p. 498.

as much reason to accept Fr. Leyburne's remark that Cross died a Catholic as there is to doubt it. It is possible that he accepted the Catholic faith at death's door, yet it seems unlikely that the court would have paid Cross' daughter had he actually done so.

The apostate James Wadsworth (1604-56) began his career as a pursuivant at about the same time as Cross. Wadsworth had the advantages of a comfortable youth, a good education, and an interest in scholarship. Like so many young Catholics of his generation, he studied abroad in the English seminaries at Seville and Madrid where he showed promise as a historian.[19] In 1618 he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at the newly-founded English College at St. Omer, but he left after four years without taking Holy Orders. Thereafter events in his life turned quickly; Moorish pirates sold him into slavery, and upon his return to Spain in 1623 he served as interpreter to Prince Charles during his abortive efforts to win a Spanish bride.[20]

Without positive employment in Spain, and hoping to find profitable work with the Crown on his return to London in 1625, Wadsworth renounced his faith and became an Anglican. His conversion seems to have been a matter of expediency, since he offered his services almost immediately to William Laud, bishop of London, and to Buckingham. Wadsworth then passed two troubled years representing the king at Calais, Brussels, and Paris, during which time he was imprisoned both for debt and for spying. Thereafter Wadsworth became an informer employed in London by the Privy Council,[21] but there is no record of his activities until 1635 when he and several other pursuivants were investigated by the Court of High Commission for stealing money.

Although Wadsworth was exonerated, the business of hunting recusants became less appealing and less profitable. He managed to avoid being questioned a second time in the spring of 1637 when

[19] About the time that Wadsworth became a pursuivant, he wrote *The English Spanish Pilgrim* (1629) in which he described his student life at St. Omer's College. A. F. Allison, "John Heigham of S. Omer (c. 1568-c. 1632)," *Recusant History*, IV (October, 1958), 228.

[20] *D.N.B.*, XX, 425-6. Cf. Mark A. Tierney, ed., *Dodd's Church History of England from the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution of* 1688 (5 vols., London, 1839-43), II, 429; and Henry Foley, ed., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (8 vols., London, 1877-83), I, 514.

[21] *D.N.B.*, XX, 426.

a royal commission found most of the pursuivants guilty of extortion. Moreover, he seems to have been constantly impoverished because his petitions to the Council requesting payment of money in "recompense for his bringing jesuits and papists to conviction" were often ignored.[22] Wadsworth testified for Parliament at Laud's trial in 1643,[23] and he was present with Thomas Mayo on January 17, 1645, when the magistrates' court of St. Giles-in-the-Fields sentenced Fr. Henry Morse to death.[24] After 1648, the civil wars having ruined Wadsworth's career as a pursuivant, he spent the remaining six years of his life as a "common Hackney to the basest Catchpole Bayliff's in Westminster." [25]

These brief accounts of Cross and Wadsworth suggest that while the Government used the informers to good advantage, it was not troubled about their welfare. Even though they curbed recusancy and augmented the Crown's income,[26] the Government paid them very little for their services. Cross, for example, though he apprehended at least twenty-nine priests during his career, was paid only about 200 marks.[27] Another pursuivant received but 11s. for information acquainting the Lord Mayor of Leicester of a suspected Catholic plot.[28] In February, 1636, the Court of High Commission, which regularly employed pursuivants, gave Wragg £70, Tomlins £80, Faith Cross £50, and William Flamstead £20, all of whom had "received no recompense during the last three years. . . ." [29] When a special committee of investigation in 1637

[22] *S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, p. 319.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1643-4, p. 232.

[24] Caraman, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[25] *D.N.B.*, XX, 426.

[26] The income taken from recusants is summarized in Frederick C. Dietz's "The Receipts and Issues of the Exchequer During the Reigns of James I and Charles I," *Smith College Studies in History*, XIII (1927-8), 117-71. His figures show that the Government collected no more than £4,200 from recusants in any year between 1625 and 1630. Thereafter the income from recusants climbed from about £6,400 in 1631 to about £26,700 in 1634. From 1635 through 1640 the recusants paid the Government approximately £84,750.

[27] P.R.O., P.C. 2/49, 16 September 1638, p. 208. See also *S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, pp. 75-6, 451.

[28] Helen Stocks and W. H. Stevenson, eds., *Records of the Borough of Leicester Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1603-1688* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1923), III, 322.

[29] *S.P. Dom.*, 1635-6, p. 498. The court defined the duties of its pursuivants to be "discovering and apprehending priests, jesuits and schismatical re-

charged John Gray with extortion, he attempted to justify his actions by pleading poverty.[30]

How much money the Government advanced to its informers I have not been able to determine, but periodically they were rewarded for some work neatly executed, and they managed to increase their incomes by illegal means such as extortion. Furthermore, an Elizabethan law of 1581 provided that the income from recusancy fines should be divided into three equal parts: one-third going to the Crown, another third to the support of the poor in the parish in which the violation was committed, and the last third to any who would sue for it in court "by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information."[31] Accordingly, pursuivants could make money by producing evidence that led to the conviction of recusants. Though the informers took advantage of this law, they generally tried at first to threaten Catholics with arrest so as to frighten them into paying blackmail several times over.

It was this practice that drew the attention of the Government to the pursuivants' criminal acts. Soon after Christmas, 1636, the pursuivant John Cook threatened with arrest Henry Morse,[32] a Jesuit who was working among the plague-stricken parishioners of St. Giles' in Bloomsbury. Morse handed over the money that Cook demanded[33] and was released only to be confronted a second time in February by Cook and another informer named Francis Newton. Morse challenged their authority and scoffed at their threats, but nevertheless he was arrested and detained at a tavern in Fetter Lane where Newton and Cook became intoxicated. The party then left by boat up-river to Westminster and lodged overnight at an inn on the Broad Sanctuary.[34] The following morning Morse

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cusants, seizing popish and seditious books, and apprehending delinquents questioned for incest, adultery, and other great crimes punishable by ecclesiastical authority."

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

[31] *Statutes*, 23 Eliz. I (1581), "An Act to retain the Queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience."

[32] *D.N.B.*, XIII, 1010-11; see Morse's diary in the "Papers relating to the English Jesuits," B.M. Add. MS. 21,203.

[33] Caraman, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

[34] *S.P. Dom.*, 1636-7, p. 535.

managed to escape, but he was finally imprisoned in April through the intervention of principal secretary John Coke, Newton's superior on the Council.[35]

The Crown had a strong case against Morse, for Newton had bribed several witnesses to sign a petition swearing that Morse had converted to Catholicism approximately twenty persons who had died of the plague.[36] Thirteen recusants, whom Morse had nursed through their sickness, then submitted affidavits attesting that the alleged converts had long been Catholics. These witnesses were also jailed for recusancy through information volunteered by William Haywood, the parson of St. Giles'. They next petitioned the king to rescind legal action against Morse, and to restrain the pursuivants whose "misdemeanors and great oppressions" were going unpunished.[37] Meanwhile, Morse languished in Newgate, arraigned but not condemned.[38]

Numerous complaints by recusants and the queen's intercession for Morse drew Charles' attention to the informers. The king may have allowed the incident to pass unresolved, however, had not George Conn,[39] the papal agent at court, suggested that a study be made of the pursuivants' conduct. He intended to prove that they had acted illegally so as to convince the king that the enforcement of the penal laws ought rightly to be in the hands of a more responsible agency—like the Star Chamber.[40] Conn's

[35] Caraman, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8.

[36] The petitioners drew attention to the alarming spread of Catholicism in St. Giles' Parish. The Catholics, they said, "are so exceedingly multiplied that in that part of the parish called Bloomsbury there are as many or more than Protestants." *S.P. Dom.*, 1636-7, p. 499.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 499 and 519. The witnesses specified the crimes committed by Newton, Mayo, Gray and Wadsworth.

[38] W.C.A. MSS., A Series, XXIX, 26 May 1637, ff. 51-3

[39] P.R.O., Roman Transcripts, Series I, 31/9/124, 12 March 1637. George Conn (also Con and Connaeus) was sent to England to settle a controversy between the secular and regular clergy over the Oath of Allegiance. He was an immediate success in this mission as well as in winning Charles' friendship and reawakening Henrietta Maria's efforts to mitigate the hardships of her Catholic subjects. See also the transcripts of Conn's letters in the B.M. Add. MSS. 15,389-92.

[40] Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

favored position at court,[41] together with the queen's intercession,[42] convinced Charles to appoint a committee to examine the informers' practices. Conn would have preferred to have the committee composed of privy councillors like Francis Windebank and Francis Cottington who were sympathetic to the Catholics. Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, who were outspokenly anti-Catholic, Conn wanted to exclude. Charles finally appointed Sir John Bankes[43] to lead the committee composed of magistrates Gregory Fenner, Henry Spiller and Laurence Whitaker, and judges Henry Fuller and Edward Jenner. The committee, which sat during late April and early May, 1637, subpoened most of the pursuivants, but only Wragg, Newton, Gray, Cook, and Griffin appeared for questioning.[44] The others undoubtedly went into hiding.

Bankes opened the hearings by questioning the wisdom of the Government's retaining the pursuivants. He quoted from a speech by the Roman statesman Cicero that could not have been more apropos of the charges against the informers.

> Tis good there should be informers in a commonwealth, as in houses we keepe dogs to discover theeves. But if dogs for a peece of bread

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[41] B.M. Add. MS. 15,390, ff. 246, and 346; *S.P. Venetian*, 1632-6, pp. 274, 217-8. On May 29, 1637, the Venetian Ambassador wrote that "it is certainly a wonderful thing to see in England a dependent of the Holy See [Conn] not only living at liberty, but frequenting the Court at all hours with so much confidence, and having such familiar access to the King's ear, as if he was one of the most intimate servants, without any distinction of place or time. As a consequence of this even the most rigid and scrupulous Protestants esteem and honour him, visiting him frequently, even in his own house."

[42] For examples of the queen's intercession for recusants see *S.P. Dom.*, 1627-8, pp. 7, 35-6; *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Skrine), p. 56; and Samuel R. Gardiner, *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I, 1637-1649* (2 vols., London, 1882), I, 17.

[43] Sir John Bankes (1589-1644) was born in Cumberland, and was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, but he left without taking a degree to enter law in Gray's Inn in 1607. He practiced law from November, 1614, to September, 1634 except for brief terms in the Commons in 1624 and 1628. Bankes became attorney general in 1634 and carried on his duties with moderation, caution and brilliance. *D.N.B.*, I, 1041-3.

[44] *S.P. Dom.*, 1635-6, p. 326.

make a truce with the theeves, and so betray him whom they seeme to serve, their leggs shall be broken for that service.[45]

Bankes then cited the case of John Sutton, a pursuivant who had been convicted in the Star Chamber in 1635 for blackmailing over a hundred Catholics in seven years.[46] The attorney general also set out to prove that the pursuivants were dangerous to the State. First, he insisted that their unlawful actions not only debased the Law and perverted justice, but that they also cheated the Crown of funds that would have been collected in fines had the recusants been reported and convicted. Bankes added that blackmailing encouraged Catholics to ignore the penal laws and to continue in their faith. Finally, he said that the informers maligned the dignity of the Crown and thereby raised public scandal. Although Bankes admitted that they once served usefully, he maintained that "these caterpillars of a Republique" now deserved to be "rooted out of this kingdome." [47]

But the significance of the enquiry lies primarily in the fact that the testimony of Catholics was taken in evidence. News of the investigation spread quickly among recusants who submitted statements of abuses committed against them by the pursuivants. William Man of York, for instance, swore that in 1625 Wragg and Tarbuck had searched his home, accused him falsely of being a priest, and conducted him to Lincoln where they took £260 in exchange for his liberty. Other recusants added that since 1635 Wragg had accepted bribes totalling at least £75, and that Tomlins collected £140 through extortion. Newton was shown to have forced several Catholics to pay over £10. Elizabeth Ratcliffe told the committeemen how Gray, Griffin and Wainwright forced entry into her home and stole £22 on the pretext that the money belonged to a priest, even though she insisted it was her own. A little later, according to her, Mayo and Cross searched her home, struck down her eighty-eight-year-old mother, and took her to Cross' house where she was held until she paid them.[48]

[45] Bodleian Bankes MSS. 44/56-7. These are notes of an early case against an Elizabethan pursuivant named John Crapnell. They are dated 24 November 1598, but they have marginalia in Bankes' hand.

[46] *Ibid.*, 44/7-9. Bankes used as his authority 18 Eliz. I, c. 5: "If an Informer shall willing lie . . . make anie compositio or take any monie reward . . . for himselfe or to the use of anie other . . . [he shall be prosecuted]."

[47] *Ibid.*, 44/7.

[48] *S.P. Dom.*, 1635-6, pp. 327-8.

At first, the pursuivants denied these charges, but denial proved futile in the face of such overwhelming evidence. Gray's weak defence was typical. He admitted his crimes, but he sought to justify them by claiming that since the Crown paid him irregularly, he had to blackmail Catholics to earn a living. Moreover, as if to elicit sympathy, he stated that he had divided the money equally among Griffin, Wainwright and himself.[49]

The report of the committee was submitted to Francis Windebank. It exhibited beyond doubt the pursuivants' guilt, and it recommended the prosecution of Wragg, Newton, Griffin, Gray, Wainwright and Cook for blackmailing Catholics and for unjustifiably intruding upon Catholic homes from which money and goods were stolen. How often the informers committed these crimes could be seen in the affidavits which were appended to the report.[50] Yet it appears that the Government took no action to punish its pursuivants. Indeed, they resumed their activities as though an investigation had never taken place.

The reason for this seems to lie in a rupture of the *entente cordiale* that Conn had woven between London and Rome. The brief Catholic revival in London in the mid-1630's that included proselytization among Henrietta Maria's courtiers created a scandal in Anglican circles that eventually turned to the disadvantage of the Roman party. In swift succession Mrs. Endymion Porter, her father Lord Boteler, Lady Frances Purbeck and Lady Newport became converts to the Catholic faith.[51] The conversion of Lady Newport particularly startled Laud who, at the Privy Council on October 22, 1637, railed about the increase of Catholic converts, the freedom of religion permitted at court, the inordinate influence of prominent Catholics such as Toby Mathew and Walter Montague, and Henrietta's audacity in openly promoting her faith.[52] The result of Lady Newport's heresy and Laud's strength

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[51] For information about these conversions see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, 17-19; *A.P.C.*, XLI, 191-2; P.R.O., P.C. 2/44 (date?), p. 228; and Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[52] Anon., *An Introduction to the Following History Containing the Diary of . . . William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1694), p. 55, Cf. John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (2 vols., London, 1721), II, 380, and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, 19.

in the Council was the successive promulgation of three proclamations against Catholics within three months,[53] the consequent resumption of persecution, and the intervention of the pursuivants.

The ink had no sooner dried on the king's second proclamation (20 December 1637) than John Gray, recently charged with serious misdemeanors, captured the well-known Dominican Thomas Gage,[54] who had spent most of his young priesthood in the Philippines and in Central America, and who had just returned to England. His account of this meeting with Gray is so typical of the pursuivants' methods that it merits full quotation:

> At this time coming once from Surrey to London, I chanc'd to be discover'd and known to one of the State-Officers, a Pursevant . . . named John Gray, who meeting me one Day in Long-Acre, follow'd and dogg'd me as far as Lincolns-Inn Wall, where he clap'd me on the Shoulders, and told me, that he had a Commission against me, to apprehend me, and carry me to the Council Table, or to one of his Majesty's Secretaries. To whom I spoke in Spanish (thinking thereby to free my self out of his Hands for a Spaniard:) but this would not do, for he reply'd he knew me to be an English man born, and by the Name of Gage. . . . He carr'd me to a Tavern, and there search'd my Pockets for Letters and Mony, which . . . was too little for him . . . and that I must go with him to answer before one of his Majesty's

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[53] *S.P. Venetian,* 1636-9, pp. 324, 254-5; Rushworth, *Historical Collections,* II, 453; Thomas D. Hardy, ed., *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera* (London, 1873), II, 895. These decrees threatened the most severe penalties against anyone who heard Mass in the queen's chapel (5 November 1637); forbade proselytization by Catholic priests and laymen (20 December); and extended the penalties to loss of property and possible execution for those who fished for souls or who administered the sacraments according to the Roman rite (January, 1638?).

[54] Thomas Gage (d. 1656), called Thomas de Sancta Maria, studied at English Jesuit seminaries abroad before becoming a Dominican friar at Vallodolid, Spain, c. 1612. While at Loreto, Italy, in 1641, according to his own statement, he renounced his vows and left the Catholic religion after becoming skeptical over the miracles attributed to the picture of the Virgin Mary at that shrine. Gage's fame lies in the publication in 1648 of a remarkable book for his century, *English American: or New Survey of the West India's. D.N.B.,* VII, 793-5. An interesting sidelight on Gage's career is that following his apostasy in 1642 he became an informer, sending some of his former colleagues to the gallows. See the introduction by J. Eric Thompson, ed., *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* (Norman, Okla., 1958).

Secretaries. I told him, I would willingly go before the Archbishop of Canterbury, or before Sir Francis Windebanke at which he smil'd, saying, I knew well whom to make choice of to favour and protect me, but he would carry me to none of them, but to Secretary Cook [John Coke]. I fearing the Business might go hard with me, and knowing him to be greedy of Mony, told him that I would give him any thing that might content him, and so offer'd him twelve Shilling . . . and my Word to meet him in any place the next Day, with a better and fuller Purse. He accepted of my Mony for the present, and . . . appointed the Angel Tavern in Long-Acre . . . to be the Place of our Meeting, and so dismiss'd me.[55]

Gage related the incident to his brother who met Gray the following day and frightened him off by threatening to seek Windebank's intercession.[56]

This admonition did not deter Gray and his gang of informers from further activity. In June, 1638, they arrested and caused to be imprisoned an eighty-year-old Catholic named Francis Smith who had testified against the pursuivants during the investigation of 1637 and who, because of his age, had been released from Newgate prison. He went to live with a friend at Cheam in Surrey, and the very next day was assailed by the informers who took 35s. and demanded £5 more. When Smith could not raise the money, they arrested him on suspicion of being a priest.[57]

Meanwhile, Gray had been muddling through personal problems. Toward the end of January, 1638, the keeper of the Compter prison in Southwark arrested Gray for abusing a priest named Lawrence from whom he had stolen a trunk and some books. Gray was released when he proved that he had acted with a warrant authorizing Fr. Lawrence's arrest.[58] The Privy Council again imprisoned Gray from July to September, 1639, for taking "great

[55] Thomas Gage, *Some Remarkable Passages relating to the Arch-Bishop Laud, particularly of his affection to the Church of Rome. Being the twenty-second chapter of Gage's Survey of the West Indies* (London, 1721), pp. 3-4.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5. Thomas Gage later related the incident to Windebank who assured him that "John Gray was a knave," and that if ever he bothered him again, he would be punished.

[57] *S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, pp. 511-2.

[58] P.R.O., P.C. 2/48, 26 January 1637, p. 271. Gray was first imprisoned in January 1634, for "misbehaving him selfe in a certaine search . . ." W.C.A. MS., Anglia A, VIII, 10 January 1634, f. 69.

fees . . . to the great oppression of his Majestie's subjects. . . . ." [59] But Gray continued to work for the Government for several years after that. In 1644, for instance, he testified against Laud and thereby repaid the man who had caused his imprisonment in 1636.[60]

It is perplexing that the Government employed scoundrels to assist the regular officers of law enforcement in implementing the penal laws against the Catholics. The use of informers, attracted to the work by pecuniary profit, was in sharp discordance with the services rendered by sheriffs, constables, and church wardens who were more frequently motivated by feelings of political and religious responsibility. Lacking a sense of duty that characterized most of these regularly constituted authorities, the pursuivants used extortion, blackmail, and brutality with an almost cynical disregard of either humanity or the national and religious principles upon which, mistakenly or not, the penal laws were based. In continuing to employ the pursuivants even after their crimes had been exposed, the Government impaired the strength of these laws and thereby inadvertently fostered recusancy.

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[59] P.R.O., P.C. 2/49, 30 March 1638, p. 47; P.C. 2/50, 31 July 1639, p. 277; and 29 September 1639, p. 319. Two months earlier Wragg was jailed in the Fleet for two days. P.C. 2/50, 3 May 1639, p. 102. John Browne, a Jesuit captured in 1640, described Wragg as "the greatest Knave in the Countrey, for mony he would doe any thing, he carried in his pouch a number of Citations, and when he pleased for mony dismissed any one. . . ." John Browne, *A Discovery of the Notorious Proceedings of William Laud, . . . Confessed by John Browne . . .* (London, 1641), n.p.

[60] *London's Intelligencer,* 17 July 1644 (B.M. King's Pamphlets, no. 167), p. 242.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE SPIRITUAL LIFE

Father Felix Talbot, S.J., a New England retreat master, had a favorite phrase: "Tough tacking on the sea of asceticism." It sums up the hundreds upon thousands of pages written in spiritual manuals and schematic plans for progress in the spiritual life. It sums up, too, what the many spiritual notes and biographies of the greatest of saints have to say, for—as we know only too well from our own experience—perfection is not a prize easily won. It is as difficult as sailing against the wind. Bl. Claude de la Columbière, S.J., a peculiarly amiable saint, once wrote:

> It is strange how many enemies one must struggle against from the moment one takes the resolution to become a saint. It seems that everything is let loose against him, the demon with his artifices and the world with its attractions. . . . If God visits you, there is vanity to fear; if he withdraws, timidity; despair may follow, or the greatest fervor. Our friends are a temptation to us because of the willingness to please which we have come to have for them; acquaintances by our fear of displeasing them. In fervor there is indiscretion to fear, in moderation sensuality, and self-love everywhere.[1]

Who of us has undertaken the difficult road that leads to self-perfection and will not verify these words with our own experience and then go on to agree with the charming simplicity and transparent candor of Archbishop Alban Goodier, S.J., as he writes:

> When I was younger, a novice in religion, and knew myself less, and knew others less, and was full of high ambition in the spiritual life, and sought in books and study, in thought-out plans and schemes on paper for guides to the summit of perfection, I set virtues before me, and meditated on their beauty, and proposed to myself to acquire them, sub-dividing them, analysing them, arranging their degrees as the steps of a ladder. This week, as the good spiritual writers bade me, I would acquire the virtue of patience; next week it should be a carefully guarded tongue; the next week after should be given to charity; then should come the spirit of prayer; and in a month or two, perhaps I might have an ecstacy and "see the Lord."[2]

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[1] Georges Guitton, S.J., *Perfect Friend,* trans. by William J. Young, S.J. (St. Louis, 1956), p. 110.

[2] Alban Goodier, S.J., *A More Excellent Way* (St. Meinrad, Ind.: Grail Publication, no date given), p. 20.

Typical of the young religious, and many others as well. We come across innumerable analyses of saints' lives and analyses of the virtues, the opposite vices, the character types and their predominant passions; our libraries are stacked with them. As many the books, so many the answers there are to how we might acquire perfection. One writer clamps onto humility, another onto generosity, another onto self-denial, a fourth will treat each (and in the end conclude that they are all absolutely essential), and a fifth will reject them all with a quote from Paul: "But the greatest of these is charity." [3] As many the answers, so much is the confusion in the mind of the beginner and veteran alike.

Perhaps—because of the oft repeated, "I can't find any spiritual reading or meditation book that I like"—the fad of psychoanalysis and its legion of brother analyses will catch the individual's eye. Plumb the depths of self! Get to the bottom of these subtle waters in the sea of asceticism. Plumb the *unconscious!* Hoist the sails of self-scrutiny and, under the flag of Freud and friends, let us see if we can ply this sea.

But the gear and tackle of this trade are far too encumbering, too heavy with self to let the frail soul sail free, and soon she waterlogs almost to sinking in the depths of self. Concentrated self-analysis stirs up too many and too strong contrary winds on this sea; they make even the possibility of tacking utterly remote. So it seems, at least, to the now tiring and confused beginner or veteran who finds "self-love everywhere." Then comes the temptation to drift with the current on this sea, to drift—mediocrity! Can the tired soul be blamed? Three principles of perfection here, twelve steps to self-analysis there, five and one half "musts" here; it is all too much. The sincere soul can begin to feel abnormal.

Professor Joseph Nuttin of Louvain, in a most revealing work where perhaps for the first time a capable writer has been far-sighted enough to present a study of the *normal personality,* meets analysis on its own ground. He concludes that the *unconscious* which Freud stressed so much can be explained (and it seems in more accord with the facts) as the confusion and deception caused by the state of tension.[4] The beginner, or—in the case of analysis—

[3] *I Cor.* 13:13.

[4] Joseph Nuttin, *Psychoanalysis and Personality,* trans. by George Lamb (New York, 1953), pp. 191 ff.

more likely the veteran, will have done nothing but add to the confusion and deception that creates what Freud called the *unconscious*. Dragging the bottoms of self stirs up muddy waters. The result of all the consequent confusion then is a more illusive concept of self, of virtue, of perfection, of the entire spiritual life and its meaning. Nuttin goes on to say:

> To become oneself . . . right to the depths of ones own intimate personality, can call for an extra-ordinary effort of sincerity and simplicity from certain people. Because they do not want to recognize or even look at certain feelings, the distance and tension between the intimate form and the ideal form of the personality increase. The distance causes the ideal form of the personality to develop a certain kind of psychic-hypocrisy (not moral) *often met with in certain virtuous people whose psychological integration has lagged behind their virtue.*[5]

What Professor Nuttin is describing here is the type of personality we so often meet with in a devout man, the type that has plastered on the outside all the formulas for virtue he has salvaged from the reading of spiritual manuals and the lives of saints. What he has, in effect, are the rules and regulations of the holy life as acquired habits; but the *inner* life is hollow, empty, and gives no meaning to the acquired external habits with the result that he develops a "certain kind of psychic-hypocrisy." He is sincere; his hypocrisy is not moral. He see no hypocrisy at all in himself, for this soul has deep sympathy and justifiable fears.

What does Nuttin mean by "To become oneself . . . right to the depths of ones own intimate personality . . .?" The Professor has just finished describing the *balanced personality*, where he tells us:

> The balanced person, however, has developed "public" form of personality which holds together perfectly by itself and in which he *is* as much himself as in the inmost intimate part of his consciousness.[6]

In other words, the "balanced person" has brought into harmony his external personality and his own concept of himself: the man he should be. Nuttin tells us earlier in his treatise that this concept of self is "a certain ideal image, i.e., an image of what man proposes to make himself or what he wants to aim at. . . . This image

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 200. (Italics are ours.)
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

is a concrete form developed under the influence of a deep-lying urge, of an ideal of self-realization. This ideal, it is true, is inspired by social conditions and cultural conditions, but to some extent it depends on personal spontaneity."[7] Here, this theory of normal personality plays right into the hands of those who care for souls.

A few years before Nuttin presented his dynamic theory of personality, Lindworsky stressed the importance of developing the "vocational-ideal" in his *Psychology of Ascetiscism.* He writes:

> Before every man there stands a picture of that which he should become. And never will he be fully at peace until the ideal shown in that picture has been brought to perfect realization. This picture, of course, is in his belief world.[8]

Lindworsky goes on to say that the first task of ascetiscism is the recognition of the specific religious vocational-ideal set before the individual by God. Why cannot the ideal image of Nuttin and the vocational ideal of Lindworsky be the image of the other Christ that we are, or should be?

It is true that the ideal is inspired by social and cultural conditions, but this only means that the ideal image of another Christ must fit the social and cultural conditions of a given country, people, and immediate environment. The ideal image depends to some extent on personal spontaneity, but this only means that the soul and its director can fashion an image of Christ perfectly tailored to meet the specific needs of this personality at any given stage of its spiritual development. Christ has that unique capability of fitting himself out as an ideal to meet the needs of the beginner or the mystic of any socio-cultural condition.

Long ago Alban Goodier, S.J., gave us the same answer in not so high-flown and technical terms:

> I am convinced that there is one road to perfection better than all else—in fact, that if we neglect this one no other will be of avail. After all, it is possible to acquire perfection in virtue, and yet to be far from a saint . . .

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[8] Johannes Lindworsky, S.J., *Psychology of Asceticism*, trans. by E. A. Heiring (Baltimore, 1950), p. 15.

On the other hand, it is possible to be a great saint, and yet be imperfect in many respects . . . But one thing is not possible; it is not possible to grow in the knowledge, and love, and imitation of Jesus Christ, without at the same time growing in the perfection of every virtue and becoming more a saint everyday.[9]

We all know, from sad experience, that comparisons are odious. When we compare ourselves with others, one of two results is possible, and both have equally deplorable consequences. *First,* we compare ourselves with one less talented, less virtuous, less sociable, less everything than ourselves; and the result is pride. *Second,* we can compare ourselves with one more talented, more virtuous, more sociable, more everything than ourselves; and the result is despair. However, has there ever been a time in anyone's life that he has compared himself to Christ, taken the inner core of his intimate self and measured it up against "the most beautiful of the sons of men," and has come away either proud or dejected? That one personality is the only rule, the only measure—spiritually sound and psychologically sound—by which we can judge the merits or demerits of our own standing. Have we not all at one time or other felt small next to Him, and have we not all felt big in His presence? Furthermore, He knows just when to make us small and just when to make us big.

Let those who care for souls listen carefully to Goodier as he writes:

This, then, if I were allowed to begin my spiritual life over again, is the line along which I would try to live it; and it is the line along which I would try to lead the lives of any whom God gave into my care. Particular virtues are good things—of course they are; it is much to be always patient, to be diligent in the use of our time. . . . And is it not possible to possess all these, and yet, on their very account, to remain as proud as Lucifer? . . . But these things are not the main issue; they are often no more than the paint on the surface; and truth, sanctity, only begins when the core of the creature is affected. And this is done, almost alone by love; when the creature loves, then it is changed, and till then scarcely at all. Thus it is that the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ goes deeper down than any Stoic striving after virtue; it is flesh and blood where the other is but bleached bones; it gives life and substance where the other is only

[9] Goodier, *op. cit.,* pp. 20-21.

dead perfection; the imitation of Jesus Christ includes every virtue, makes them unconsciously our own, produces them from itself, and does not merely put them on from without. . . .[10]

Most probably Goodier never thought out a rich and complex dynamic theory of personality such as Nuttin's, but with his obvious insight into the human personality, he has arrived at the same conclusions and pleads for the same aproach to the spiritual life that Nuttin stresses in the approach to the normal life.

The rules of a given religious institute, the obligations of the priesthood, the burdens of married life, the universal mortification and self-denial all become heavy cargo and cumbersome tackle to a waterlogged soul on the sea of asceticism without a meaningful, concrete, effective *ideal image* or vocational ideal. For the tired and encumbered soul the responsibility of one's way of life, instead of being a free expression of one's own ideal self (the ideal image), can become a formula of obligations. These obligations imply duties, not love; and therefore the personality resents them, unless they are made acceptable by entering the area of love. The lack of material goods is no virtue in itself, or our Skid Rows would be veritable hothouses of sanctity. The mere carrying out of a command is not virtue in itself, or Siberian slave-labor would be automatic subject matter for canonization. Each vow, each obligation, each act of mortification becomes virtuous under the aspect of *Christ* poor, *Christ* obedient, *Christ* chaste, and *Christ* suffering. And that which specifies this as "Franciscan" poverty, or as "Jesuit" obedience or "married" fidelity has meaning only as it copies *Christ*, the ideal image, the vocational ideal, tailored to each individual.

What, then, is the practical conclusion of all this? Let those who care for more mature souls set one goal above all others in their directing of souls: *to bring those in their care to recognize as their vocational ideal the person Jesus Christ.* Christ has a way of fitting himself out to meet the needs of all souls at any stage of their spiritual progress toward holiness. If the beginner, with the help of a director, can fashion an ideal picture of himself in concrete terms that is modeled closely after the one Master Blueprint, then the beginner is safely on the true and essential route to perfection. If this one is neglected, this one essential way, "no

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

other will be of avail." Christ cannot deceive us in this most important matter of revealing Himself to us; for "before every man there stands a picture of that which he should become," the deep-lying urge for perfection God has planted in each of us. The ideal image of self modeled on Christ will develop as the individual matures; and the annual retreat will not be a starting over again, but rather a further unfolding of this infinitely rich personality. The unchanging character of Christ "the same yesterday, today, and forever," [11] will be the steady rudder for the soul on this sea of asceticism.

Some will most certainly say this is all too simple. It is far too simple to launch young souls, not to mention more mature souls, on such a shallow sea of asceticism, i.e., the fashioning of an ideal image of self in copy of Christ, the saturating of the soul in Another Self, the constant meditating, reading, re-reading, drinking in all the Gospels have to tell us of the Son of Man, the most perfectly balanced, normal, and entirely holy Man the world has ever known. But those who find it all too simple will come back to the Way, the Truth, and the Life in time. Perhaps sailing on a much simpler sea is not as venturesome, as daring, as tacking on a more complex sea; but sooner or later all come back to the sea of Galilee to find Christ *who will* lead the way.

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[11] *Heb.* 13:7-8.

THE PASTORAL SERMONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE

In reading the sermons of Augustine, Chrysostom, Lacordaire, Newman and modern pulpit orators, "a talented man in the course of his reflections is imbued," as Augustine himself said, "with the eloquence with which they are expressed, even though he does not strive for this but is intent only upon the subjects there described." This is especially true "if he joins to his reading a practice in writing, dictating, and finally even in expressing what he thinks, according to the rule of piety and faith." [1] Even better than reading sermons, however, is listening to a good speaker. When Deogratias asked Augustine for a sample sermon, Augustine dictated one but insisted that the deacon would "learn this better by watching and listening to us when we actually engage in the work itself than by reading what we dictate." [2]

Eloquence itself is caught, not taught. The preacher reads the rhetorical rules, but it is more important that he listen to and real good speeches. As Augustine insisted:

> Eloquence grows upon those who read and listen eagerly and intelligently to the eloquent, more easily than upon those who merely try to imitate words for eloquence. . . . I know of many men who are more eloquent without the rules of rhetoric than many of them who have learned them. But I know of no one who has become eloquent without reading and listening to the speeches and discourses of eloquent speakers.[3]

Augustine by no means suggests exact imitation of another orator or a labored concentration of various rhetorical rules in the pulpit. He thinks few preachers speak well while reflecting upon the rules of speaking. In the pulpit the true orator concentrates on his *matter*, not on rules; in doing so, he avoids ruinous introspection, and gets rid of all self-consciousness. This aids him all the better to attain true eloquence.[4]

[1] *De Doc. Christ.* 2,3,4 (37).

[2] *De Cat. Rud.*

[3] *De Doc. Christ.* 4,3,5 (91); 4,29,62 (34.120); 2,3,4 (37). Cicero writes the same, *De Orat,* 1,32,146.

[4] *De Doc. Christ.* 2,3,4 (37).

Ex tempore sermons offer the preacher easy opportunity to observe the audience's reactions and adapt his sermons accordingly. Augustine, of course, thought out his sermons before delivering them, *"in corde meo verbum erat."* [5] He kept the main points in mind, giving them greater prominence while the details and examples are assigned to the background.[6] But the gentle stresses and nuances of delivery depend on the immediate audience.

"Are they following my thought?" This is the constant question of the good preacher, he observes. "A crowd that is eager to learn usually indicates by its movements whether it understands." [7] If the audience appears uninterested, the preacher "must keep going over what he is discussing with a manifold diversity of expression." [8] If the audience is tired, finish quickly. Once, while concluding, he notices that some "think I have finished too quickly; I can see that also. But the weaker must excuse the stronger and the stronger must pray for the weaker." [9] Many sermons conclude with a mention of more doctrine to impart but an unwillingness to burden the hearers.[10]

More important than the careful restraint on overburdening the audience is a quick conclusion as soon as one detects the matter is understood. This is a sound pedagogical principle, proverbial among the ancients: don't teach a man what he already knows. "For just as the speaker is pleasing when he makes clear things which should be learned, so he is irksome when he keeps emphasizing facts already known." [11]

[5] *Serm.* 225,3 (38.1097).

[6] *De Cat. Rud.* 3,5 (40.313).

[7] *De Doc. Christ.* 4,10,25 (34.99).

[8] *Ibid.* Cf. *De Cat. Rud.* 10.14 (40.321); 13.18 (324-325).

[9] *In Ps.* 32,2,8 (36.289).

[10] *In Joh.* 5,20 (35.1424); *In Ps.* 32,2,12 (36.286); 33,1,11 (307); *Serm.* 1,5 (38.30); 140, 6 (775); 274, 1 (1253); 348,4 (39.1529); 355,4,7 (1574). He stops *Serm.* 126 lest by adding more, he obscure what has already been said: (38.705).

[11] *De Doc. Christ.* 4,10,25 (34.100). Cf. *De Cat. Rud.* 8,12 (40.318); 13,18 (325); *Serm.* 348,4 (39.1529). Augustine does not repeat last Sunday's matter: "It would be unfair to defraud those of the sequel who wish to hear it, by repeating what has gone before," *In Joh.* 2,1 (35.1389). Recall Plautus' sharp "Doctum doces!", *Poem.* 880, and Jerome's "stultissimum quippe est, docere quod noverit ille quem doceas," *Epist.* 53,7.

The Bishop has other practical suggestions. If it is old matter that is still known, repeat it in a new way—*non nova sed nove.* If it is forgotten, remind the audience, since "a person is taught whatever is forgotten, when he is reminded of it." [12] If it is known but seems to have had no effect, impress it forcibly. For example, after setting up the Scriptural difficulty—"Bear one another"s burdens" and "Bear your own burdens"—he solves it immediately, and then adds: "Assured of your understanding it, let me discuss it somewhat more, not to convey something to be understood, but, being understood, to impress it." [13] And on Psalm 131, he starts:

> You must not listen to it as though you were beginners. You must help me by listening to things you have already heard. It should not be necessary for me always to say something new. The real point is that we have to *be* new. Our old material must not prove a hindrance to us, for we have got to grow and make progress.[14]

After all, says Augustine in another sermon, "Just as it is not enough to read once something that is written, so neither is it enough to have but a single exposition of something you do not understand." With tact toward the more intelligent of the audience, he continues: "Those of you who have already heard what I am going to say and who have understood it, who bear it in mind and remember it well, must listen patiently." [15]

How observant Augustine is, how careful to teach all! He begins one sermon with an explanation of the parable of the tares among good wheat and a comparison of good and bad Christians. He observes that "all but a few understood my meaning, yet it is for the benefit of all that I speak." He proceeds to explain "literal" meanings and the significance and purpose of parables and similitudes (a parenthesis of value to the entire audience).[16] Sometimes he asks the less intelligent to wait for a few minutes while he talks to those capable of understanding a sublime and subtle truth, as when he entered into some fine points of the Arian heresy: "Let

[12] *De Doc. Christ.* 4,10,25 (34.100).

[13] *Serm.* 164,2,3 (38.896). On the other hand, he does not treat some matters "lest the matter be more obscure by the brevity," *In Joh.* 94,6 (35.1870).

[14] *In Ps.* 131,1,1 (37.1716).

[15] Cf. *Serm.* 169,5,7 (38.919); 250,3 (1167); *In Ps.* 90,2,1 (37.1159).

[16] *Serm.* 73 (38. 937-939).

him who understands rejoice. Let him who does not understand, bear it patiently." [17]

If Augustine himself does not understand a problem clearly, he tells the people so. He had attempted a sermon on Christ doing nothing of Himself (cf. *John* 5:30), but opens his next sermon with frankness: "Yet I have given you no real explanation of that passage for the simple reason that I do not myself understand an explanation I can give you." [18] Usually both he and the audience understand: "I see you are listening without boredom. I rejoice that the palate of your heart does not reject what makes for your health, rather receives with eagerness and retains with profit." [19]

Love inspires the preacher, it eliminates the distaste in repeating over and over things familiar and suitable "for little children":

In proportion as we dwell in them through the bond of love, so do things which were old become new to us. Is it not a common occurrence that when we are showing to those who have never seen them before certain lovely and expansive spaces, whether of town or of countryside, which we, through often seeing, have already been in the habit of passing by without any pleasure, our own delight is renewed by their delight at the novelty of the scene.[20]

Routine is never dull for him who loves. What the Bishop writes relative to instructing prospective converts also applies to preaching to Catholic souls:

And if we pass through streets that are familiar to us with all the cheerfulness that springs from well-doing, when we happen to be pointing out the way to one who has been in trouble through losing the way, with how much more alacrity and with how much greater joy, in the matter of salutary doctrine, ought we to go over those things which, as far as *we* are concerned, need not be repeated, when we are escorting through the paths of peace a soul that needs pity, one wearied with the wanderings of this world, at the bidding of Him who has given that peace to us.[21]

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[17] *Serm.* 126,6,8 (702).

[18] *In Joh.* 19,1 (35.1543). Or he may join to his scriptural explanation, "without prejudice to a better explanation," *In Joh.* 16,3 (1523). Maybe the audience itself has had better thoughts: "Exposui sicut potui. Potest ipse (Christus) melius in cordibus vestris," *Serm.* 253,4,5 (38.1182).

[19] *In Ps.* 61,1 (36.729).

[20] *De Cat. Rud.* 12,17 (40.324).

[21] *Ibid.* Cf. *Prov.* 2:13.

Note Augustine's emphasis on cheerfulness. The preacher dispenses God's doctrine and "if in the case of material wealth God loves a cheerful giver, how much more in that of the spiritual?" [22] The people detect easily the disposition of the preacher. If he is enthused, so can they be, "for the thread of our discourse is affected by the very joy we experience; and, as a result, is delivered more easily and received more gratefully." [23] The sermon, then, ought to be "seasoned with a becoming liveliness—*honesta hilaritate conditum.*" [24] Certainly Augustine's sermons possess this character. As Father Pope writes, Augustine "had realized that nothing appeals to a man so much as a sense of human nature, of its foibles and its weaknesses; that if you can only make a man smile—even if that be at himself—the battle is half-won." [25]

Effective humor is based on facts; it demands close insight, an ability to see the humorous in life without divorcing it from the serious: "Nothing is so unsatisfactory as a thing that rolls away. That is why money is made round. It won't stand still." [26] Or again: "What more expressive symbol of emptiness than the talkativeness of frogs." [27] Note the humor of a play on words, yet the dead seriousness in rebuking a man who sees no wrong in keeping with a concubine:

> When are you going to correct yourself? "Tomorrow," you say. But look! Whenever you say, "Tomorrow, tomorrow—*Cras, cras,*" you imitate the crow. When you start croaking like a crow you are almost finished. That crow, whose voice you copy, was the bird that left the ark and never came back.[28]

There are other examples:

> You have a man who with immense pains has learned to walk on a tight-rope. Suspended, he keeps you in suspense. But turn your eyes to Him who does far more spectacular things. Did He learn to walk on a tight-rope? No, He walked on the sea. Forget your theater

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[22] *De Cat. Rud.* 2,4 (312).

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *De Cat. Rud.* 13,19 (325).

[25] Hugh Pope, O.P., *Saint Augustine of Hippo* (London: Sands and Co., 1937), p. 169. The whole chapter, "Augustine's Humor," is valuable, pp. 162-189.

[26] *In Ps.* 83,1,3 (37.1057).

[27] Frangipane, *Sermones X ex codice Cassinen.* (Rome, 1819), 1,5.

[28] *Serm.* 224,4 (38.1095).

and for a moment fix your eyes on Him. . . . No tight-rope walker but a sea-walker—*non funambulum sed mariambulum.*[29]

Or again, he notes:

When someone tears your cloak you cry, "You have torn me to ribbons," though it is not you but the cloak that's been torn. In the same way we say that the Son of God was crucified and buried, though He suffered only as man and His body was buried.[30]

How the teen-aged boys must have blushed and their girl-friends smiled when they heard Augustine speaking like this:

"Your hair wants cutting," says an old man to a love-sick youth. "You have no business coming in here with hair as long as that." But the young gentleman knows that there is someone who is fascinated by those locks of his.[31]

Augustine would make a mother smile: "How mothers scrub their children in the bath—but only for health's sake. And how the children cry under their hands." [32] And the husbands chuckled at: "Everyone has a home of his own so as to secure some rest. But supposing that even in his home there are troubles; there he can find no rest. Outside are unfriendly people; inside, a scolding wife." [33]

In another sermon, he notes how a husband will stay in the marketplace rather than go home. There they are all happy, but they become gloomy when they finally arrive home, "for they know they are going home to grumblings, murmurings, and complaints; to a home where everything is upside down. For you cannot have an orderly home where there is no peace between husband and wife." Once this scene is pictured, the Bishop forcefully continues:

If, then, they are miserable, who—when they return to their own walls—fear lest they be troubled by some commotion of their own family, how much more miserable are they who are unwilling to return to their own consciences lest they be overturned by the strife of their sins.[34]

Scattered throughout Augustine's sermons are hundreds of eternal gems—summaries of wisdom. On the Pharisee's prayer: *"Hoc est non exsultare sed insultare."* [35] The desire for heaven "always

[29] *In Ps.* 39,1,9 (36.440).
[30] *Serm.* 213,3 (38.1062).
[31] *In Ps.* 32,1,7 (36.282).
[32] *In Ps.* 33,2,20 (319).
[33] *In Ps.* 31,2,5 (260).
[34] *In Ps.* 32,2,8 (312).
[35] *In Ps.* 69,2 (367).

prays even though the tongue is silent. When does prayer sleep? When desires grow cold." [36] *"Sit orantis affectus et erit exaudientis effectus."* [37] "The love of earthly things is glue on the spiritual wings." [38] "Live well lest you die ill." [39] "He who is proud in time becomes a beggar in hell." [40] "Sight will not gladden him in his home whom faith has not consoled on the way." [41] "Christ keeps silent that He might be judged, but He will not keep silent when He begins to judge." [42] "If the Word was not ashamed to be born of men, shall men be ashamed to be born of God?" [43] "A mere woman terrified Peter, but the torture instrument could not." [44] "Only the wicked grumble at the wicked." [45]

Augustine manipulates language so that even rhymes enter his discourses. "Since your sin you will not humble tell, with pride you needs must swell—*Quia non vis timere, nihil tibi aliud remanet quam tumere."* [46] *"Saeculi laetitia est impunita nequitia."* [47] On Pelagian pride, *"Quid dicitis non assertores sed praecepitatores liberi arbitrii ex alto elationis, per inania praesumptionis, in profunda submersionis."* [48] How better describe the breakfast on the seashore after the Resurrection, contrasting the boiled fish—a "holocaust" for our bodily nourishment—with Christ the Sacrifice of our Redemption, *"Piscis assus, Christus passus!"* [49]

Other times the Bishop displays his gift of penetrating the obvious to display the foolishness of many common ideas and practices:

> What is more perverse than a man who wishes to have many goods but does not wish to be good himself! . . . Do you want a bad country-house? No, indeed, but a good one. Or a bad wife? No, but a good one. Or a bad hood? A bad shoe? Why, then, only a bad soul?[50]

> If you fear not sin, yet you do fear where sin leads you. Sin is sweet but death is bitter. This is the infelicity of men: that for which they sin they leave here when they die (money, a country-villa, a harlot), and the sins themselves, that they carry with them.[51]

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[36] *Serm.* 80,7 (38.497).
[37] *Serm.* 56,4,5 (379).
[38] *Serm.* 112,6 (646).
[39] *Serm.* 102,1 (611).
[40] *Ibid.*, 3 (612).
[41] *Serm.* 88,4 (541).
[42] *In Joh.* 4,2 (35.1406).
[43] *In Joh.* 3,6 (1399).
[44] "Non territ ungula, sed una oppressit muliercula."
[45] *Serm.* 302,18,16 (38.1391).
[46] *In Ps.* 118,2 (37.1505).
[47] *Serm.* 171,4 (38.935).
[48] *In Joh.* 81,2 (35.1841).
[49] *In Joh.* 123,2 (1966).
[50] *Serm.* 107,5,6 (38.630).
[51] *Serm.* 58,9 (398).

He then describes all the trouble men go through to put off death:

> If, then, men spend much toil, such endeavor, so much money, anxiety, watchfulness, and care in order to live only a little while longer, what ought we not do that we may live forever? And if we call them prudent who take every possible precaution to stave off death, to live for a few days more, to save just a few days, then how foolish are they who pass their days in such a way as to lose the Day of Eternity![52]

He even jokes about himself, especially when he gets somewhat "windy." Although he laid down the precept, *"Oportet ut senilis sermo non solum sit gravis sed etiam brevis,"* he is not always mindful of it and more than once admits his tendency to prolixity.[53] Towards an apparent ending in sermon 88, he claims he will be brief in his conclusion, but continues to talk for another thirty-five minutes.[54] After one lengthy sermon, he humorously apologizes *"loquaci senectuti,"* [55] and concludes another one, ". . . judging by the smell in here *(ab isto odore)*, I presume I must have preached a very long sermon." [56]

The people of Hippo were a demonstrative crowd.[57] They would have let their Bishop know if they disliked his sermons. On the

[52] *Serm.* 127,2 (707).

[53] For the precept, cf. *Serm.* 350,3 (39.1535). Some sermons are very short: *Serm.* 321 (only eight lines); 320; 226; 212; 325. Others are very long: *Serm.* 4; 361; *In Ps.* 32,2; 35,1; 38,1; 51,1. I suspect someone hinted that his commentaries on St. John were too long, for considerably shorter sermons occur after his early ones, especially after sermons 19-23 which occupy fifty-nine columns in Migne. He acknowledges his prolixity: *In Ps.* 35,19 (36.354); *In Joh.* 5,20 (36.1424); 7,24 (1450); 8,13 (1458); 11,15 (1484); etc.

[54] Intelligent oral reading of one column in Migne takes about five and a half minutes. In *Serm.* 88, he evidently ignored his principle in *De Catechizandis Rudibus:* if we promise a speedy conclusion, hurry up and fulfill the promise, 13,19 (40.326).

[55] *Serm.* 355,7 (39.1572). "Etsi brevis Psalmus est, longa tamen tractatio, et longus sermo," *In Ps.* 120,15 (37.1618).

[56] *In Ps.* 72,34 (36.929).

[57] "The free and easy conduct of the congregation is well-known in this period. The Church, besides being a place for common worship, is also a regular place to visit and meet friends. Talking and laughing are indulged in freely, and conduct in general unrestrained." Deferrari, "St Augustine's Method of Composing and Delivering Sermons," *The American Journal of Philology,* XLIII (1922) 206.

whole there is a "real avidity" and "intent earnestness" on their part.[58] This eagerness to learn, to applaud, to manifest their joy is a sure sign of the intimate union the people had with a preacher who took them into his confidence. Longinus mentions a kind of elation wherein the audience felt as though it were not merely receiving but was itself actually participating in the poet's or speaker's assertions—the exaltation of collaboration.[59] Certainly Augustine created this atmosphere in those African churches. He wanted his people to ponder over the most profound mysteries of the faith, and make the most practical moral applications to their own daily lives. The people knew this: here is a preacher who is interested in us, in our salvation, in our mental development, in our turmoil of soul as we lethargically or eagerly yearn for perfection. Augustine, then, succeeded in achieving communication—the constant, victorious effort of his soul to go out of itself and pass wholly into that of the listener. "So great is the power of sympathy," he wrote, "that when people are affected by what we speak and we by them as we learn, we dwell in each other and thus both they, as it were, speak in us what they hear, while we, after a fashion, learn in them what we teach." [60]

Essential in the preparation of every one of his sermons was prayer. The orator is a petitioner before he is a speaker—*orator antequam dictor:*

When a person is just about to speak before the people or before some smaller group . . . he ought to pray that God will put a good sermon in his mouth. For if Queen Esther, who was about to speak

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[58] *Serm.* 52,8 (38.363); 180,7 (976); 277,8 (1262); 362,11 (39.1617); *In Joh.* 5,13 (35.1420-1421); 11,8 (1479); etc.

[59] Cf. Kennith Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), pp. 57-58.

[60] *De Cat. Rud.* 12,17 (40.324). A remark of Legewie in *Augustinus: Eine Psychographie* seems too one-sided. He describes Augustine as a man "whom one reveres, who rouses one to enthusiasm, who can point the way out; but from the single individual he always holds himself coldly aloof. Even at the risk of being misunderstood, one must still declare that Augustine always remains at a distance, in a human sense, because he radiates no cordial warmth. The heart if full of sympathy, appealing to and understood by all humanity; the heart that tingles and vibrates perceptibly—Augustine did not possess." Cited by H. H. Lesaar, *St. Augustine* (New York: Benziger Bros., 1931), pp. 190-191.

before the king of the temporal well-being of her nation, prayed that God would put a "well-ordered" speech in her mouth (*Esther* 14:13), how much more should he pray to obtain such a gift who is laboring "in the word and in teaching" (*I Tim.* 5:17) for the eternal well-being of men.[61]

Thus, we understand clearly Augustine's way of preparation. "He prayed much, he thought much, he studied the Bible on the question he wished to treat of, and then, when he felt clear in his own mind, he spoke from the fullness of an illumined mind and of a heart on fire with zeal for the welfare of his flock." [62]

As a result, the Bishop could write at the end of his life that "it rarely happened when I was present and a sermon had to be preached to the people, that I was allowed to be silent and to listen to someone else preaching." [63] All Africa wanted to hear him and only death stopped his voice. "Right up to his last illness," writes his biographer and friend, "he had preached God's Word in the Church unceasingly, vigorously, and powerfully, with sound mind and sound judgment." [64] His preaching was but the fulfillment of a loving obligation he clearly saw. His love could not be idle. It flowed into unceasing action, and, as Augustine observed, only death will announce the commencement of a life where there is no need either to preach or to listen to sermons. There are no sermons in heaven. When this life passes away, a new life begins:

> Those words which we are now speaking will not need to be said to you, nor the sacred volume read when we shall see Him who is the *Verbum Dei,* by whom all things are made, by whom the angels feed, by whom the angels are illuminated, by whom the angels are made wise; *not requiring the words of circuitous discourse,* they but drink in the only Word, filled with whom, they burst forth and never fail in praise.[65]

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[61] *De Doc. Christ.* 4,30,63 (34.120).
[62] Pope, O.P., *op. cit.,* p. 166.
[63] *Retract.* Prologue, 2 (32.584).
[64] *Vita* 31 (32.64).
[65] *Serm.* 59,3,6 (38.401).

MARY AND THE GREAT SIGN

In the Bible a sign is very important. In the Old Testament, for example, the rainbow was a sign of the covenant between God and Abraham. In the New Testament we discover the Jews demanding from Christ a sign of his authority and office. When Christ spoke of the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, the apostles wanted to know: "What will be the sign when these things will begin to come to pass?" (*Luke* 21:7). In the Apocalypse, chapter seven, the angel signs the servants of God on their foreheads with the sign of the living God. The Last Judgment will be preceded by the sign of the Son of Man appearing in heaven (*Matt.* 24:30).

Any scriptural sign, expressive of man's relationship with God, is important; but the sign of *Apocalypse* 12:1-2 has a special importance. The Scripture calls it a great sign and many consider this sign the central vision of the Apocalypse. It seems further to climax a kind of theme that recurs time and again through the Scriptures. It is an extraordinary sign, a stupefying and overwhelming prodigy; great in itself and greater in its implications. It is a sign filled with mystery and meaning; it draws the mind powerfully, irresistibly into its depths.

The sign proper is contained in *Apocalypse* 12:1-2: "And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon was under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child, she cried out in her travail and was in the anguish of delivery."

The rest of the chapter aids in the understanding of the sign. Directly, another sign, of a huge red dragon, appeared over against it. He dragged with him a third part of the stars of heaven and dashed them to earth. The dragon stood before the woman in order to devour her child. But the child was caught up to God's throne and the woman fled into the wilderness where she would be protected by God for a set time.

Regarding the great sign of the woman with child, war broke out in heaven. Michael and the good angels fought against the dragon and his angels. The ancient serpent, Satan, who leads astray the whole world, was cast down to earth with his evil

angels. There was joy in heaven over the victory, but woe upon the earth. For Satan has gone down to earth to continue the battle against the other children of the woman. Satan works furiously, knowing that he has but a short time.

This shows us the great sign and its aftermath; we must now seek its interpretation. In the woman we see, first of all, the Blessed Virgin Mary. She is clothed in the divine light and has the moon, signifying the changeable things of this world, under her feet. Twelve stars form her crown. All created things serve her and her child. The child is Christ. The rest of her children are the members of Christ. Mary is pictured as the Mother of Christ and as the Mother of the Church. She gives birth to the Head of the Mystical Body, who is Christ, and to the members.

According to the majority of authors, the woman of the Apocalypse also symbolizes the Church. This is because of the close resemblance which the Church bears to Mary. After a manner of speaking, Mary *is* the Church. She is the Mother of the Church, its most exalted member, the Secondary Head of the Mystical Body; preeminently, she "is" the Church. LeFrois adds the notion that St. John depicts Mary as the Church, that in St. John's mind they are identified as a totality.[1]

We may clearly see Mary in the woman of the Apocalypse, but the sign is still difficult to interpret because it does not refer simply to Mary, nor to just one specific event in Mary's existence. As Richard of St. Lawrence says, it is "a sign of eternity, that signifies every age, present, past and future." [2] Many see in it a sign of all the decrees of God concerning the Incarnation. We might go further and say that it is a sign of the mind of God concerning the whole of creation. God conceives and executes his decree concerning creation in a moment. God's creative act is symbolized in the great sign of the Apocalypse.

According to the doctrine of the universal and absolute primacy of Christ, the first being whom God intended to create is Jesus Christ. Before all else, God intended to join the human nature of

[1] Le Frois, *The Woman Clothed With the Sun* (Rome: Herder, 1954), p. 262.

[2] Richard of St. Lawrence, *De laudibus Beatae Virginis VII and XII*, in Unger, "Did St. John See the Virgin Mary in Glory?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XI (1949), 4.

Christ to his Second Person in a union so close that the result would be one Divine Person with two natures: the nature of God and the nature of man. God did not intend Christ separate and alone, but intended that he be born of Mary as a member of our race. It follows that Mary is the second being whom God intended to create. From the beginning, before all else and in the very first place, God intended the existence of Jesus and Mary as the firstfruits of creation.[3]

Foreseeing the sin of Adam, God decreed that his Son be born of Mary, not as a Glorious King, but as the Suffering Redeemer of a fallen race.

These points are all symbolized in the great sign. We see the Blessed Virgin bearing the Christchild in pain. The pain is not the actual, physical pain of childbirth, which Mary was never to suffer, but the mental anguish of the Mother of the Redeemer. It is the pain of compassion of the Co-Redemptrix of the human race, suffering with Christ at the foot of the Cross and bearing her children in sorrow. The sign shows Christ and Mary as the firstfruits of creation in that the sun, the moon and the stars (that is all creation), are their servants. In the mind of God the sign precedes the existence of the angels and the material world.

After willing Jesus and Mary, God willed still other creatures as their servants. He willed to give many of these creatures intelligence and free will, even though He foresaw the abuse to which these gifts would be put. God willed to permit sin, not for the sake of sin, but for the sake of love: that all of his intelligent creatures might render Him a pure and ardent love from a free heart. God foreknew the entire struggle between good and evil and the whole course of world history in a moment, in the eternal present. He knew who would return his immense love and who would despise it.

[3] This is a difficult point. It is often said that Christ and sin are simultaneous in the divine decree, but that Christ is logically prior to sin: Cf. Rocca-Roschini, *De primaria existentia Christi et Deiparae* (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1944), pp. 27-31. We do not wish to say that Christ was predestined to be the Redeemer before God foresaw the sin of Adam. Certainly we cannot say that God decreed the Incarnation in the very first place and added the Redemption after foreseeing the sin of Adam. In other words, this matter lies at the very heart of the mystery of predestination. Cf. Carol, *Mariology* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1957), II, 154 ff.

Many authors, ancient and modern,[4] believe that during their period of trial, the angels were given a revelation of the Incarnation of the Son of God which was to take place in the course of history. The good angels accepted the revelation and adored the divine Will in this regard. But Lucifer, followed by the evil angels, refused to submit to the divine decree, concerning the Incarnation. Filled with pride, envy and insubordination, he was unwilling to accept the idea that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity become Man would rule over him as his King. Lucifer was particularly unwilling to accept the Mother of Christ as his Queen. Satan saw and understood the great sign and rejected it.[5]

Then the sign of Satan appeared over against the sign of Mary. War broke out in heaven. The good angels fought for the honor of Christ and His Mother.[6] The great wars of earth can give us only a faint idea of the fury of this battle between the angellic armies. We can hardly conceive of the courage of the good angels or of what they endured in the struggle.

Satan was cast out of heaven. The first phase of the battle was complete and there was joy in heaven over the victory. But there was woe to the earth, for Satan, being cast down to earth, went about in great wrath, seeking vengeance and desiring to oppose God's decree concerning the Incarnation.

GENESIS 3:15

Did Adam and Eve know of the Incarnation before the Fall? St. Irenaeus taught that they did.[7] St. Ephraem seems to indicate that Adam envied Christ his divine honor.[8] Be this as it may,

[4] Cf. D. Unger, *The First-Gospel, Genesis* 3:15 (St. Bonaventure, N. Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1954), p. 246; also St. Bernard, *In adventu, sermo I, 4-5,* in Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1953), II, 40.

[5] At this time the angels understood the great sign only in its reference to the Incarnation, not in its reference to the Redemption. Cf. Arintero, *The Mystical Evolution in the Development and Vitality of the Church* (St. Louis: Herder, 1950), I, 351, note.

[6] Cf. Ullathorne, *The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God* (New York: Benziger, 1904), pp. 73 ff.

[7] St. Irenaeus, *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae,* c. 12, in Unger, *op. cit.,* p. 103; cf. also p. 246.

[8] St. Ephraem, *De nativitate Christi in carne,* 1, verse 16, in Unger, *op. cit.,* p. 150. If Adam and Eve knew of the Incarnation before the Fall,

our first parents fell. They were not forced into sin, but sinned through their own fault, of their own free will. After their sin they were overcome with remorse and filled with fear. God gave them pardon and hope with a revelation of the great sign. God cursed the serpent and said: "I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed; He shall crush your head, and you shall lie in wait for his heel" (*Gen.* 3:15).

Here again we see the woman who is at perpetual enmity with the serpent. Though a virgin,[9] she is with child and this child will overcome the serpent. In overcoming the serpent the child will suffer a bruise on the heel. This is the great sign of the Incarnation and Redemption: the woman bearing a child who is destined to triumph over Satan through suffering. The woman is to share in the pain and in the victory.

It is a sign of hope given to Adam and Eve and to their descendents at a time when they were in sore need of it. It is also a sign of conflict. Like the angels, men will have to struggle to overcome Satan, they will have to join in the battle. Just as the sign was a sign of salvation to the angels who accepted it and a sign of damnation to those who rejected it; so also the sign will divide men. Already in the first chapters of the world's history we see verified the prophecy of Simeon to be uttered thousands of years later, that Christ is a sign to be contradicted and that this child is destined for the rise and the fall of many (*Luke* 2:34). The battle in heaven was won, but the battle on earth after Adam's sin was to be unrelenting. It would cease only with the end of the human race.

The history of mankind following the sin of Adam is a sad one, but men had the hope of a Redeemer to sustain them. The belief in the future Redeemer was kept alive and passed down from father to son. The messianic promise was repeated to Abraham (*Gen.* 12:3). Jacob drew the attention of his sons to the coming of the expected of the nations (*Gen.* 49:10). In the course of time, God sent prophets to men to refresh and increase their knowledge of the Redeemer who would come.

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we might say that, like the angels, they understood the great sign only as it referred to the Incarnation, not the Redemption.

[9] Cf. Unger, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.

In *Isaias* 7:14 we see the sign in all its splendor. In 734 B. C. the northern kingdom of Israel, together with Damascus, was trying to force Achaz, King of Juda, into an alliance of rebellion against Assyria. Achaz himself, however, intended to send to Assyria for *help* against Israel and Damascus. The prophet Isaias knew the dangers of these foreign entanglements. He told Achaz that if he would desist in seeking aid from Assyria and put his trust in Yahweh alone, all would be well. The King was reluctant to take this good advice, so Isaias offered him a sign. The prophet offered to work a miracle to prove Yahweh's power and willingness to protect Juda. He told Achaz: "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God, either unto the depth of hell, or unto the height above" (*Isaias* 7:11). Still Achaz stubbornly refused to ask for the sign of God's will or to put his trust in Yahweh. Such pride and disobedience could not go unpunished. Isaias prophesied: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel. He shall eat butter and honey, that he may know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good. For before the child know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of the face of her two kings" (*Isaias* 7:14-16).

We see, first of all, that like *Apocalypse* 12:1, it is a great sign. A sign from the depth of hell to the height of heaven was offered and God himself picked such a sign. It is a sign of the Incarnation and Redemption. The virgin is the Mother of the Savior. The sign is seen more exactly in the literal rendering of the Hebrew text: "Behold, the virgin is pregnant and bearing a son, and she shall call his name 'God with us.'" [10] The notion of suffering is seen in that it is a sign of the virgin birth in poverty. Butter and honey are the natural products of the land and the food proper to a devastated land. Owing to Original Sin, the Messiah is to come, not in glory, but as the Redeemer, as the Suffering Servant of Yahweh.

It is a sign of conflict, for before the child come, Juda will be devastated. The sign also promises hope and salvation. It comes at a time when the Jews have strayed far from Yahweh and have need of a return to hope in the coming Savior. The sign is salva-

[10] Cf. May, "Mary in the Old Testament," in Carol, *Mariology*, I, 63.

tion to the just; damnation to the reprobate, because these imitate the obstinacy of Achaz and will not receive it.

The great sign appears again in the words of the prophet Micheas, who prophesied 740-700 B. C.: "And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda: out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel: and his going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity. Therefore will he give them up even till the time wherein she that travaileth shall bring forth: and the remnant of his brethren shall be converted to the children of Israel" (*Micheas* 5:2-3).

The greatness of the sign is apparent: the child has a double origin, one in eternity, another in time. It is a sign both for time and for eternity. It is further a sign of the Incarnation and Redemption. Though destined to be the ruler, the child is to be brought forth in obscurity and is destined to win his crown through suffering. The woman is a virgin, for there is no mention of a husband. The Jews always traced lineage through the father, but, in this case, there is no human father. The sign is the same as that of *Isaias* 7:14—the virgin bearing a son.

It is a sign of hope, promising the mercy of God. But before Israel would be worthy of the mercy of God, she would have to be purified: the remnant shall be converted.

Many see the great sign in the writing of Jeremiah, who prophesied 628-587 B. C.: "How long wilt thou be dissolute in deliciousness, O wandering daughter? for the Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall compass a man" (*Jeremiah* 31:22). The Jews again had fallen upon evil days and Rachel is pictured as weeping over their fate from her tomb at Rama. But Jeremiah holds up to them a sign of restoration: a virgin shall bear a child. She is a virgin, for no husband is mentioned by the prophet. The sign comes to the Jews who are without hope and far from the kingdom of God. It is a great sign, so great that it is called a new creation upon the earth.

These references to the great sign in the Old Testament form part of a vast current of messianic prophecy in the times before Christ. They belong to a mighty tradition that kept alive the hope of men for the promised Redeemer. Men at that time possessed only a shadow of the things to come. It remained for us to see the reality of the coming of Christ.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

The sign found realization in Nazareth where the Son of God became man in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was born in Bethlehem in poverty and obscurity as foretold by the prophet Micheas. The head of Satan was crushed in the passion and death of Christ. Our Lady shared in the victory. She also fought with Satan and suffered in crushing his head.

After Mary's death, St. John saw the great sign in all its glory. The great sign as seen in *Apocalypse* 12:1 is often referred to the Assumption and Coronation of Mary in heaven where she reigns as Queen of heaven and earth.

But the final fulfillment is not yet. The second phase of the great battle is finished. Jesus and Mary have overcome Satan, but yet a short time remains in which Satan pursues the other children of Mary. Our Savior reigns as the Lamb Slain and our Lady still wears her countenance of pain. Now the final phase of the great battle rages.

The great sign is repeated in *Apocalypse* 12:1-2 for the benefit of all Christians till the end of time. It is a sign of victory through suffering. The crown will come to those who are faithful, who persevere unto the end. It is a sign for all of history and we look for further evidence of it throughout the Christian centuries.

Our attention is drawn, for example, to the hill of Tepeyac near Mexico City where the Virgin Mother appeared to a humble Indian in 1531. Mexico was torn with strife and sunk in utter depths of paganism and devil worship. The missionaries labored with little fruit at a humanly hopeless task. After our Lady appeared, nine million Indians were baptized during eight years; Mexico accepted the faith in one generation. This can be explained only as an act of God, the fire of the Spirit.

How did Mary appear? As the woman clothed with the sun in the midst of clouds, the moon under her feet, stars upon her mantle and a shining gold crown above her head. Her picture shows her as a young virgin shortly after the Incarnation, bearing in her womb the Son of God. Her head is bowed in humble submission to her Creator. She advances toward her children with beautiful, but sad countenance, taking pity upon their great misery. An angel gently bears the precious burden.

In the Scriptures we see the great sign painted in words, drawn with the inspired imagery of St. John. In Guadalupe we see the great sign drawn by the hand of the virgin herself. This is no ordinary picture. Here is one of the greatest treasures given to men.

In more recent times our attention is drawn to the great sign of Mary in other striking ways. The theme of our day is: to Jesus through Mary. We see Mary at La Salette, at Lourdes, at Fatima. May we not look further and see the woman of the Apocalypse? We see the Virgin bearing a Child, bringing forth Christ to the world. We see her in pain, in an ocean of reparation, weeping like Rachel over the fate of her children. We see the Virgin-Mother of mercy offering peace and salvation, offering Christ to a floundering world.

The meaning and power of Mary's sign becomes clearer as time passes. As has been said, in the woman of the Apocalypse we see the close relationship, the moral identity between Mary and the Church. The Church is like Mary and this resemblance becomes more prominent as the centuries advance; it becomes most clear toward the end of time. Satan despised the woman with child and by her he will taste a bitter, final and personal defeat. The dragon and the woman are eternal enemies. Satan was defeated by the great sign in heaven; he was defeated by the great sign when Jesus and Mary dwelt upon earth; he is defeated by the great sign throughout history, but his third and final defeat will come at the end of time. The great sign is multiform; we see it in time and in eternity. Looking toward the end of time we see antichrist, together with Satan, crushed under the feet of the Woman bearing a Child.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CONVERT APOSTOLATE

To perceive and appreciate the significant developments in the convert apostolate it will be well to take a brief look at the conditions prevailing in this field a half century ago. So many millions of immigrants had streamed to our shores that the lion's share of the energy of bishops and priests and the resources of the faithful were devoted to the urgent task of erecting churches, schools, convents and rectories to minister to their religious and educational needs. Under the wise and judicious leadership of Cardinal Gibbons, the Church had grown enormously in the respect and esteem of the general public; in increasing numbers Catholics were attaining positions of prominence in the business, political, social and cultural life of the nation.

The task still uppermost in the mind of the Church was not, however, that of winning converts but of holding her own by providing for their essential needs. The Church was not simply *at* the brick and mortar stage, she was *in* it up to her shoulders. If one scans the Catholic periodical literature at the turn of the century, he will find few allusions to the convert apostolate. Indeed in looking over the field as a young priest in 1916, we could find not a single book, pamphlet or magazine article on techniques of instructing prospective converts or of recruiting them.

Yet the need was there, clamorous and inexorable. The tide of immigration had already passed its peak and was destined in a few decades to dwindle to a mere trickle. Aside from increase through births, the Church's expansion must come increasingly from the assimilation of the ever mounting number of the millions outside the fold. This would demand a knowledge of their peculiar psychology, their fears and prejudices concerning Catholics: it would require a pooling of the experience of those priests who had been most successful in winning them.

By 1926 we had located nine such priests. Among them were Fathers Hugh McMenamin of Denver, A.B.C. Dunne of Eau Claire, and Joseph Eckert, S.V.D., of Chicago, with totals of more than a thousand converts apiece. This was at a time when the average number of converts per priest was but 1.5 per year. Want-

ing not a theoretical but a practical, down-to-earth treatment of convert making, we prevailed upon these busy shepherds to describe their methods and had them published the following year in *The White Harvest* (Longmans, Green & Co.). To the best of our knowledge it was the first systematic treatment of techniques of recruiting and instructing prospective converts ever published. In concluding chapters we endeavored to synthesize the various procedures outlined by each of these two basic phases of convert work so that the neophyte in the pastoral ministry would have a sort of guide or blueprint before him.

"This book," said Bishop Francis Clement Kelley in his foreword, "is a symposium of a new uneasiness and anxiety—uneasiness about ourselves and anxiety about others. It is not, however, a symposium to give us trouble but to give us consolation. When we worried only about what we had, we were doing only half the worrying Our Lord wanted us to do. So it really gives me pleasure to present these gentlemen and ask that they be given a hearing. They are not going to say the last word on the subject of 'How to Convert,' but they are going to say a useful word, a needed word, a consoling word and a word that many have waited long to hear."

We were somewhat chagrined when the publishers priced the book at $3.50—a stiff price 32 years ago—and likely to keep it from young priests and seminarians—the very ones who needed it most. So after six months or so we purchased the stock and the plates, reduced the price drastically, exhausted the supply, and brought out several one-dollar soft covered editions. From our own office we disposed of thousands of these, placing them in quantities in virtually every major seminary in this country as well as in the American colleges in Rome and Louvain.

At Kenrick the seminarians formed a Brownson Club and studied and discussed *The White Harvest* from cover to cover. As a result they were qualified to start immediately after ordination upon a vigorous and fruitful convert apostolate. One of them, Father (now Bishop) Charles H. Helmsing, averaged fifty converts annually for the first ten years of his ministry: a striking verification of the old adage, "Knowledge is power."

Pope Pius XI sent his warm commendation of the volume and his blessing upon all who used it. The letter, sent by the then Secre-

tary of State, was signed E. Cardinal Pacelli. Hence the document conveys the approbation of two pontiffs, the contemporary one and a future one.

Convert making was thus officially recognized as an integral part of the pastoral ministry, but a part with distinctive techniques which require special study, training and discipline. Convert making as a distinctive art had shed its swaddling clothes and had come of age. It now began to find its hesitant way into seminary curricula and into the studies of shepherds of souls.

The contributors to this symposium had stressed two points of prime importance: 1. The secret of success in recruiting prospects for the Inquiry Class lay in publicizing it in every possible manner and in enlisting parishioners or recruiters. 2. The secret of winning considerable numbers of converts was the holding of an Inquiry Class two nights a week, thus completing three or four courses a year. The experience of the intervening years has but served to underline the truth of those two basic conclusions.

Against the backdrop of convert making coming of age as a specialized art some thirty years or so ago, let us ask, What are the significant developments since then? We shall enumerate: 1. Those of a general nature. 2. Those pertaining to the recruiting of prospects. 3. Those relating to their instruction. 4. Those of a specialized character.

DEVELOPMENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE

Here we would list the factors which have helped to project convert making into the forefront of our attention, making us all convert-minded. The first of these is the marked increase in space given by Catholic newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books to convert making in general, to individual conversions, the activities of well-known converts, and the reclamation of inactive and lapsed Catholics.

Helping to alert non-Catholics to the life-giving truths of the Catholic faith are the splendid advertisements run by the Knights of Columbus in national magazines. Provoking considerable response, the ads lead thousands to enroll in the K. of C. correspondence instruction course and ultimately to contact priests in their communities. Among all the distinguished contributions which this order has rendered to the Church, its convert program in the form of religious ads and mail instruction courses will rank, we

think, at the very top. If its example were followed by all our lay organizations, what a marked increase in converts would result.

For many years the NCWC news service has been syndicating a weekly feature, *Sharing Our Treasure,* telling how a lay person helped in winning one or more converts. Occasionally it features the story of a conversion as related by the convert himself. Appearing in diocesan papers from coast to coast, the feature reaches several million readers weekly, and is subsequently run in a dozen or more periodicals. It is stimulating more lay people to try their hand at leading non-Catholic friends into the fold.

A shorter feature, *The Open Door,* run for several years by the *Catholic Digest,* serves a somewhat similar purpose. Designed for priests and seminarians is the monthly release of the Paulist Press, *Guide.* Edited by Father John T. McGinn, C.S.P., it reprints timely articles or papers read at conferences, dealing with the convert apostolate. A *must* for seminarians and priests, it is a constant reminder that the shepherd of souls must keep *au courant* with the developments in this field and observe the injunction of the greatest of all convert makers, St. Paul: "Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth" (*II Tim.,* 2:15).

Seeking to render on an international scale a similar service is the quarterly, *Christ to the World,* edited by Father Francis X. Legrand and published in Rome in English, French and Spanish. It presents developments in the convert movement in many countries and thus widens our vision and enriches us with new methods. In every issue the American priest will find both stimulation and practical pointers. It deserves a place in every rectory. A year's subscription costs two dollars and the address is Lungotevere, dei Vallati, 1, Rome.

Mention should be made also of the marked increase in the number of radio and television programs which bring Catholic truth into the homes of millions outside the fold, and thus arouse their curiosity and quicken their interest in learning more about our holy faith. In addition to the programs over networks, many dioceses sponsor daily or weekly programs over local stations. When this becomes the practice of every diocese, the number desiring to learn more about the Church and her teachings will reach a new high.

Significant too is the marked increase of Catholic Information Centers, with well-stocked reading rooms and reference libraries. Experience has demonstrated that hundreds will enter a store-like center, with an attractive window display, who would never go to a rectory. Such centers not only answer specific questions but also conduct Inquiry Classes at convenient hours during the day and evening. As a result they are winning large numbers of converts as well as stimulating attendance at parish classes of instruction. For several years the Boston center topped all with a yearly average of over four hundred converts. Large cities can effectively use several such centers, while every fair-sized city will profit by having one. Worthy of note too is the increase of Bureaus of Catholic Information, now established in some sixty dioceses.

It is gratifying also to see a growing number of seminaries establishing courses in convert making, and to observe the efforts made to apply the psychological laws of learning to the instruction of catechumens, stressing the life and teachings of Christ as disclosed in the Scriptures as well as the liturgy of the Church.

The work of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, especially that of the fishers and the department of good will, is stimulating the interest of the laity in convert work and helping them to realize that they belong in this apostolate. When pastors have the majority of their parishioners organized into C.C.D. study clubs, they will have a wealth of lay auxiliaries serving not only as "bird dogs" to flush up prospects but also as co-instructors willing to explain the faith to families in their own homes.

Significant too is the establishment of a Bureau of Convert Research at the University of Notre Dame to conduct studies in the psychology of conversion, in parish and diocesan Census and Information Programs, and in methods of recruiting and instructing prospective converts. It serves as a clearing house of information for bishops and priests. It has supplied information and literature to the Ordinaries of all the English speaking countries, and has helped in the spread of the Census and Information Program to dioceses not only in this country but also in Canada, Great Britain and Africa. In accordance with the suggestion of the former Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal Cicognani, it makes the pastorals and directives of one bishop available to other bishops, both far and near.

The holding of an annual National Conference on Convert Work under the auspices of the Paulist Fathers is also a development worthy of note. It reflects the leadership which the Paulist Fathers have given to this movement from the time of Father Isaac Hecker to the present. The conference will serve to keep the convert apostolate in the forefront of the minds of the clergy and laity, and will stimulate all to greater efforts in this important field.

RECRUITING PROSPECTS

The most difficult, important and crucial part of convert work is getting non-Catholics to the Inquiry Class or rectory parlor. Once that is accomplished, the battle is more than half won. Until that is achieved, nothing happens. Without instructees the most brilliant teacher is like a mighty vessel filled with a precious cargo, unable to land. Hence every ounce of resourcefulness must be mobilized to recruit prospects for instruction. Here are some of the significant developments in this field.

The first step is the announcement of the Inquiry Class at all the Masses on the three preceding Sundays, asking the parishioners to pass the word among their non-Catholic friends and to try to bring them to the lectures. This is followed by prayer for conversions, and on the last of the three Sundays there is a public Holy Hour for Conversions. On the first Sunday a brief sermon is preached on the duty of the laity to recruit prospects. All too few realize that they are obligated to witness for Christ and to try by all prudent means to share their precious treasure with others.

Supplementing the pulpit announcements are carefully prepared notices in the public press, both in the form of news releases and of paid ads. Similar announcements on the radio and television help to blanket the community. Placards in store windows, buses, street cars, barber shops, beauty parlors and restaurants prove useful.

A dignified sign in front of the church announcing the Inquiry Class and the hours is in order. Letters to likely prospects including the non-Catholic parties in mixed marriages round out the coverage.

All these are termed "gun-shot" publicity. The idea is that if sufficient ammunition is shot in all directions, some of it will hit the target. Extensive though it be, it is far from adequate. The

priest who relies entirely upon these media of mass communication will more than likely be doomed to disappointment at the slim turnout. Certainly no experienced priest could face the prospect of walking over to the first Inquiry Class without having butterflies of uncertainty flittering fretfully in his stomach.

The unpredictability of the response to general announcements and to all forms of gun-shot publicity is notorious. Indeed it would seem that the effectiveness of pulpit appeals for attendance at Catholic Action meetings is generally in inverse proportion to the square of the number in attendance. Hence it has been found necessary to supplement all these mass media of communication with direct and immediate personal contact with individuals and small groups.

In every parish there are a few individuals, perhaps ten or twelve, upon whom each priest knows he can rely. Thus in a parish with two priests a group of perhaps twenty-five, the hard core of the faithful, is contacted and invited to meet with the priests three weeks before the start of the Inquiry Class. The members are asked to pool suggestions both as to likely prospects and as to the persons most suitable to approach them.

Each is asked to contact a dozen or two and to report the results at the next weekly meeting. After three weeks of such intensive recruiting, with week by week checks on the results, priests have found they can usually bank upon at least a workable quorum ranging from ten to twenty prospects who are brought to the class by their sponsors. While not infallible, the earnest work of such a carefully selected group of "old dependables" has been found to yield as large a measure of certainty as regards getting at least a quorum as can be found.

Made to order for such recruiting is, of course, the Legion of Mary. Fortunate indeed is the parish which has several praesidia: their members represent a group of dependable workers similar to the improvised group just mentioned. It is to the recruiting work of the Legionnaires that Bishop Floyd L. Begin, pastor of St. Agnes parish, Cleveland, chiefly attributes his yearly average of over one hundred converts. Many other pastors have found them equally effective.

While parishioners may be rightly asked to recruit prospects, they can scarcely be expected to do all of it, while the pastor re-

mains like a general in the rear headquarters. No one is better trained or qualified to do this work than a priest. Indeed in these days when one-third of city dwellers move every year, it is an unmistakable duty which he can no longer shirk. It is implicit in the description which Christ Himself gives of the true shepherd when He says, "I am the Good Shepherd, and I know mine and mine know me" (*John*, 10:14).

The daily visitation of homes is effective in cities and in the country. It was the hour a day spent in calling at homes in Eau Claire that enabled Father A.B.C. Dunne to gain more than a thousand converts. It was the hours spent by Fathers Leonard Weber and Gerald Noessen in calling personally at every home in their Blackduck, Minnesota, mission, comprising 10,000 square miles, that enabled them to gain four times as many converts per year as the average obtaining in their diocese.

"Father," said a pastor in a western diocese, "I've made it a practice to devote at least one hour each day or evening to calling at all the homes within my parish. It enables me to dig up non-practicing Catholics, to recruit prospects for our Inquiry Class which meets twice weekly throughout the year, to nip tendencies toward defection in the bud, to forestall ill-advised marriages, to win the good will of outsiders and to quicken the spiritual life of our own people. It's the most fruitful hour of the day and the most interesting. I would no more think of missing it than I would think of omitting my Office."

When this growing practice of pastors and assistants becomes the standard procedure for all, there will be no dearth of prospects for the Inquiry Class, no matter how frequently it is conducted. Parishioners will follow the example of their spiritual shepherds, and thus every parish will become a throbbing center of missionary activity. An analysis of some 500 conversions shows that there are only about eight basic methods of recruiting converts and these are set forth with illustrations for the laity in the book, *You Too Can Win Souls* (Macmillan Co.).

A significant development in the recruiting of prospects is the Open House. This is usually held in the school hall, where Catholics bring their non-Catholic friends and neighbors and have a social visit with light refreshments. Later they are taken on a tour through the church, where the pastor explains the statues, paintings,

figures in the stained glass windows, altar, Mass vestments and utensils, and the inside of the confessionals. They are frequently also taken through the parish school and given an opportunity to meet the Sisters in the convent. They are then invited to the parish Inquiry Class, usually starting that week.

THE INSTRUCTION OF CONVERTS

Among the developments in methods of instructing converts the following procedures are, we think, worthy of note and are rapidly becoming standard practice. A half hour before the Inquiry Class the priest instructor makes a brief visit to the Blessed Sacrament, praying to the Holy Spirit to enlighten and guide him so that he will speak prudently and wisely. Then he goes to the lecture room, and greets the people as they arrive, welcoming each in a friendly manner.

If the group is quite large, it is well to have another priest and members of the Legion of Mary or other parishioners assist him throughout the course, meeting the people, distributing literature, answering questions, keeping the attendance record, and serving as sponsors at the baptism. Where two or more priests are available, it is often advantageous to have them alternate instructions. At the Gesu Church in Milwaukee three priests take turns, and the results are excellent. Here we shall assume that one priest is conducting the Inquiry Class.

The twenty-five minutes before the class enables the priest to have brief little chats with a number of individuals, during which he can learn something of the religious background of each and how he became interested. Legionnaires can do the same and thus help him in getting a close-up of each. This practice should be continued throughout the course. It helps to create an atmosphere of friendliness, with the priests getting to know each one and the members of the class becoming acquainted with one another as well as with the Catholic lay helpers.

The Inquiry or Information Class, as it is frequently called, meets twice a week at the time and place found to be most convenient. Each class opens and closes with prayer, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and proceeding gradually to the other common prayers, bringing in the Hail Mary somewhat later. All should be encouraged to join in the recitation and to learn the prayer by

heart. This puts the instruction in the framework of religion and kindles a spark of piety and devotion in the members.

Stress is placed upon punctuality and regularity of attendance. It is well, we have found, to provide each with a good catechism, a larger manual of instruction so he can read more extensively on the subject of each lecture, and a book of conversion stories in which converts tell of the great help, peace and happiness which the Catholic faith has brought to them. These are human testimonies which can serve a divine purpose in encouraging the instructees to persevere and to take the important final step.

The lecture should end punctually, rarely exceeding an hour. Some instructors find it helpful to give the class a midway "break" of a couple minutes, having them take a sort of seventh inning stretch. The instructor must be unfailingly courteous, kind, affable, gracious and considerate. "There are three rules," as Bishop Sheen has well observed, "for winning converts: 1. kindness, 2. Kindness, 3. *Kindness.*"

It is well to begin each lecture with a two-minute review. It is desirable to cover a complete topic and to illustrate the chief points with charts, pictures, incidents, anecdotes or stories, which help so much in holding the interest. Usually the simpler the language, the more effective is the presentation. An occasional pleasantry relieves the tension and helps to put all at ease.

It is generally better, especially when the attendance is fairly large, to defer questions to the end so the continuity of the presentation will not be broken. Only those who have questions need to remain, and when the question will require considerable time to answer, the questioner may well be asked to wait until the others have been answered. Indeed many experienced instructors prefer to take the questioners individually and thus relieve them of any embarrassment in case their query should appear a bit freakish to others.

If no questioners remain, the instructor will find this a good opportunity to have a couple persons remain so he can have a little chat with each, ascertain how each is progressing, and thus keep his finger on the pulse of the class. In addition, he should assign longer periods for occasional interviews with each, and speak earnest words of encouragement to them. Thus he is able to achieve a happy blend of the best points of the individual and group method

of instruction. By keeping in close touch with each individual he is able to instruct forty or more with substantially the same effectiveness as one, and usually with greater relaxation on the part of the instructee.

Immediately upon the close of the lecture and the assignment for the next class, the final prayer is recited, the class is thanked for their attention, and the priest, standing at the door, bids each "good night." Then he gives his attention to any who remain for questions or for private conferences. During the last two or three weeks he has a conference with each individual to see if he is ready to embrace the faith and to help clear up any obstacle. While the importance of daily prayer, attendance at Sunday Mass, and visits to the Blessed Sacrament should be stressed throughout the course, they merit a special emphasis during the closing weeks that with God's help each may decide aright.

It is a common practice to receive the class on a Saturday afternoon, with a priest in the pulpit explaining the ceremonies of baptism. At a well-attended Sunday Mass it is well to have the converts, along with their sponsors, repeat after the priest a few paragraphs of the profession of faith. Few Catholics have ever heard or seen any of this. The sound of their voices pledging loyalty to God and Church as well as the sight of a goodly number helps our Catholics to realize that the Church is a missionary organization, that converts are coming into the Church as in the days of the Apostles, and that they should try to enlarge the number.

It is well to assign a Big Brother or a Big Sister to each convert to help him or her in the steadfast practice of the faith and particularly to go to confession and Communion each Sunday for the next several years. Such a sponsor can likewise help to integrate the convert into the life of the parish and to enroll him in the appropriate organizations. He must not be left to shift for himself, but should be inducted as quickly as possible into full participation in the social, educational and religious life of the parish.

Many additional pointers on methods of instructing prospective converts are presented in the three books, *Winning Converts* (University of Notre Dame Press), *Sharing the Faith* (Our Sunday Visitor Press) and *Bringing Souls to Christ* (Hanover House). In these volumes some fifty leaders in the convert movement in

this country and in England cover virtually every phase of the convert apostolate. They are admirably suited for use as textbooks in seminaries.

DEVELOPMENTS OF A SPECIALIZED CHARACTER

In an increasingly large number of parishes Convert Clubs are being established to safeguard and deepen the faith of converts, accelerate their social integration, and thus develop a splendid body of recruiters. Composed of converts, their Catholic spouses, and other "cradle" Catholics of apostolic zeal, such organizations eliminate any feeling of isolation or loneliness on the part of the convert. The program for the meetings is partly social and partly cultural, and enables all the members to get a deeper grasp particularly of the devotions and liturgy of the Church.

It is well to encourage the converts to lead discussions on the doctrines and practices of the faith so that their initiative and leadership in spreading the faith will be properly developed. It is important to arrange the monthly program with great care so that a full attendance is secured. Such clubs may well be encouraged to affiliate with the Guild of St. Paul, a national organization with offices at 438 West Second Street, Lexington, Kentucky. Properly organized and operated, the Convert Club can be a most effective agency for the recruitment of prospects for Inquiry Classes.

Outstanding among all the developments in the convert apostolate is the Catholic Census and Information Program, also called Crusade for Souls or Operation Doorbell. Launched for the first time in 1951 in the San Diego diocese, it has spread to some thirty-five dioceses from coast to coast, into Canada, Great Britain and Africa, and has been conducted on the parish, diocesan, state, and provincial level.

It comprises the two most effective means for the winning of converts: 1. The enlistment of the laity to take a Catholic census by calling at all the homes in the area, to locate non-practicing Catholics and to try to bring them back to the faith, and to interest non-Catholics in attending parish Inquiry Classes. 2. The establishment of an Inquiry Class, conducting several complete courses a year, in every parish in a diocese.

The Census Program offers no magic formula for the effortless winning of converts: it requires prayer, work, sweat and a strenuous

shoe leather apostolate. It enlists all the faithful of a diocese in a month-long crusade of prayer; it mobilizes thousands of lay canvassers to do what they never did before—call at homes to urge the strayed to return and to invite those outside the fold to come and learn what the Catholic Church has to offer.

It has met with varying degrees of success in different dioceses, depending largely upon the thoroughness of the spiritual and educational preparation, the training of the lay canvassers and the zeal of the shepherds. While it has usually netted a substantial number of converts and reclaimed fallenaways, probably its greatest effect is upon our own laity and especially upon the canvassers. It has made them realize as never before that they have an important role to play in the extension of Christ's kingdom, a role that is not satisfied by the attendance at Sunday Mass and the dropping of an offering in the collection box.

The census opens up so many leads to prospective converts and non-practicing Catholics as to provide fruitful work for several years. Indeed modified census programs should be conducted annually to keep the missionary spirit alive among the laity as well as to reap the full harvest of the seed sown so widely by the original all-out census. This the archdiocese of St. Louis has done in a splendid manner since its initial census in 1954, thus setting an inspiring example for the nation.

"As a result of the Census Program," reported the *St. Louis Register,* "some 1,100 converts came into the Church, 600 lapsed Catholics returned to the sacraments, and nearly 1,500 others responded to the invitation to take instructions by mail. When you consider the fact that multitudes of Catholics also took the opportunity to go to the Information Forums to review their catechism, the total result is that more than 10,000 in all benefited by the campaign."

Thus 883 of the total increase of 2,192 converts in 1956 over the preceding year took place in the six dioceses of Indianapolis, Evansville, Lafayette, Fort Wayne, Alexandria and Lafayette (Louisiana), which that year conducted Census Programs. This means that these six dioceses accounted for 40% of the total increase registered by the 128 dioceses of the United States.

The latest report comes from the Buffalo diocese which launched a Census Program last fall. Monsignor Francis A. Growney re-

ports that 40,000 canvassers calling at all the homes in the diocese unearthed 88,670 unlisted Catholics, 52,466 lax or inactive Catholics, and 60,218 unaffiliated with any Church. As a result of the number recruited for the Inquiry Classes, they received 2,000 converts who were confirmed in June in three separate ceremonies. Thus during the first six months of 1959 they exceeded last year's total of 1,502 by 498.

Our Holy Father, Pope John XXIII, has sent his warm commendation of the Catholic Census and Information Program and his blessing upon all who participate therein, especially the lay workers.

In short, the developments over the past thirty years disclose the following significant facts: 1. The increase of converts is traceable largely to the enlistment of more of the laity as recruiters and to the increase of parish Inquiry Classes. 2. A definite program for convert work is needed in parishes and in dioceses to get the best results. It is a long journey to the day when we shall have won for Christ the hundred million churchless people of America, but the longest journey begins with a single step, and that step is an organized convert program in every parish and every diocese.

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Answers to Questions

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LIBRARY BOOKS

Question: Would you please say something in your columns about the custom of taking books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., from the shelves of institutional libraries without having a proper record made and without subsequently returning them?

Answer: This request was made by the head librarian in a large Catholic university. His request is based on the appalling fact that much material in the form of books and pamphlets and periodicals is constantly disappearing from the shelves without any record being made and is never returned. What makes the matter worse is the strong indication that many of those who take this material are priests or seminarians or religious.

Of course, objectively a sin of theft is committed. Doubtless, many of those who commit such depradations are not guilty subjectively in the beginning. They intend to return the material "in a day or two." But time passes on, and the books or periodicals or pamphlets remain on the borrowers' shelves for weeks or months or years. Perhaps after a long time he argues that the material must have been replaced in the meantime, or he convinces himself that the library has a large number of copies and one will not be missed. It is very difficult to absolve from sin one who rationalizes in this way. He has acquired something to which he has no title, even if it has not much value and can easily be replaced. And frequently it cannot easily be replaced. The book may no longer be for sale; or it may be a book that can now be bought only at a high price. It may be one volume of a set, and its theft renders the whole set practically useless. A professor may have to change his course content and his examinations because this book is no longer available for reference. It must be very evident that the purloining of even one book may constitute sufficient matter for a grave sin against justice, not to speak of charity, because of the inconvenience and hardship the "borrowing" may cause others.

All those who make use of the services of a library should be most exact in complying with the rules determining the borrowing

of a book. Priests, seminarians and religious especially should be most careful never to cause the library officials any trouble in this connection. They should make it a matter of conscience to let the custodian know if they take out a book, and should return it promptly within the stipulated time.

MINISTRATIONS TO A DIVORCED MAN

Question: A Catholic man, who had obtained a divorce and then remarried civilly, is stricken with a deadly malady after living in this sinful union, publicly known, for several years. In this crisis he asks for a priest. Under what conditions may the priest give him the sacraments? What of the possibility of Christian burial?

Answer: Presumably the priest knows the public fact that the man is involved in a bad marriage. In that event, he should require (presuming that the man is conscious) some declaration from him as to what he will do about the marriage situation if and when he recovers. This should be sought before the priest begins to hear the sick person's confession, for it is possible that, though he called for a priest, he is not willing to renounce his evil way of life. If he will give no assurance that, in the event of recovery, he will be faithful to God's law and do whatever the Church demands regarding his marriage, the priest may not confer the sacraments. If the man persists in this evil disposition until death, Christian burial cannot be given, because the man is a public sinner who refused to give adequate signs of repentance before death (Can. 1240).

If the sick man promises that, in the event of recovery, he will observe whatever the Church may require to remedy his marriage situation (whether convalidation or separation or brother-sister cohabitation), he should make a statement to this effect that can later be used in the event of his death as the sign of repentance necessary to justify Christian burial. This declaration should be one that can be presented publicly, so that the scandal likely to come from the granting of a church funeral to a public sinner can be removed. The best procedure would be to have the repentant sinner sign a document or make his declaration before two witnesses. Even in a case of emergency when the priest is the only person present, his testimony, if received before the dying person

begins his confession (because the manifestation of contrition in the sacrament of Penance may not be revealed), could *per se* suffice, but it is surely preferable to have the testimony given by some person or persons who have no part in the administration of the sacrament of Penance.

If the man is unconscious when the priest arrives, sacramental absolution and Extreme Unction may be given conditionally (*"Si capax es,"* having the meaning "If you have the requirements for a *valid* reception"), with the hope that, before the man lost consciousness, he made an act of (at least imperfect) contrition. As to Christian burial, the fact that he called for the priest, if it can be attested to, would seem to be sufficient in the particular circumstances—although the procedure suggested above must be regarded as far more satisfactory, when it can be carried out.

Finally, if the sinner gave no indication of repentance or desire for the sacraments, but the priest was summoned or happened to be present after he had become unconscious, Penance and Extreme Unction could be given conditionally, but Christian burial must be refused, since there has been no sign of repentance for the public sin of living in an invalid marriage.

INDULGENCE IN DISTANS

Question: When a priest imparts the general absolution granted to some religious communities on certain days (the Franciscan general absolution) in a hospital where there are such religious, may he give it over a loud-speaking system, so that the members of the community who are confined to their rooms may thus receive the absolution and the attached indulgence?

Answer: I believe that the validity of such a mode of imparting the general absolution and the indulgence is questionable, to say the least. In 1939 Pope Pius XII, by a special decree, ruled that the faithful may receive the indulgence joined to the blessing *Urbi et Orbi* when it is imparted by the Sovereign Pontiff over the radio (Bouscaren, *Canon Law Digest,* II, 231). A later concession of the Sacred Penitentiary on May 9, 1952, permitted the gaining of the indulgences of the rosary recited over the radio, when the broadcast is given by a living voice, and is not a mere recording (Bouscaren, *Canon Law Digest,* III, 390). The fact that these were *concessions* would indicate that ordinarily indulgences cannot be

communicated by radio (or even by television). As far as I know, no special concession has been granted with respect to the indulgence mentioned by the inquirer, that which is attached to the general absolution of the Franciscans. It is true, the distance between the priest pronouncing the absolution and the recipients described in the question is very small; but the essential point is that they are not truly *present* to the priest, and this would seem to be a necessary requirement by Church law unless a special exception is granted by the Church.

WORKING FOR COMMUNISTS

Question: If a priest is imprisoned in a Communist camp, is it lawful for him to do any kind of work he is commanded to perform, although he realizes that his labor is in some way aiding the Communist cause?

Answer: The solution of this problem would depend largely on the type of labor the priest might be ordered to perform. If it were work necessary for the maintenance of the camp, such as cooking, farm-work, etc., there would be no difficulty, since the immediate purpose would be to care for the needs of his fellow-prisoners. Similarly, if it were work that would contribute only remotely toward the Communist cause, such as coal-mining, the construction of buildings for the housing of party-members, the repairing or construction of trucks and automobiles for the army, etc., the material co-operation that the prisoner would render would find sufficient compensation in the fear of grave punishment which would probably be inflicted if he refused to work.

But what if the work were of a nature that would render great aid to the spread of Communism? This would constitute a graver problem. For example, if the prisoner were commanded to work at the printing of literature in favor of the Communist cause and aetheism, his co-operation would still be material, but very proximate toward the progress of a monstrous evil. I believe, though, that even in such a case the fear of death might justify him in doing the work, though I believe it would be more noble and more meritorious for him to refuse, even if as a result he were put to death.

Finally, we can imagine a priest who happens to be a learned scientist and is commanded by the Communists to work at the

planning and construction of terrible nuclear weapons, evidently destined to exterminate a good portion of the free world if the opportunity is ever given to the Communists. In such a supposition, I believe that a priest would be bound to refuse co-operation, even though death would surely follow. For, the tremendous damage such weapons could inflict on millions of innocent persons would be too dire an effect to justify the preservation of the priest's life. Moreover, there would be very grave scandal if a priest lent his efforts to such a type of work.

CHEWING THE SACRED HOST

Question: Recently I heard a priest state that the faithful should be urged to chew the Sacred Host after receiving Holy Communion. The argument he gave is that Our Lord commands us to *eat* His Body, and that we do not fulfil this requirement properly unless we chew the consecrated particle.

Answer: Some Catholics have the idea that it is sinful to allow the consecrated Host to touch their teeth. This is surely an exaggerated attitude. It is not a sin for a person to let the sacred species touch his teeth, or even to chew them. On the other hand, mastication of the Host is surely not necessary for the valid or lawful reception of Holy Communion. Chewing is not necessary for true eating. There are many foods that we truly *eat,* yet ordinarily do not chew—raw oysters, soft-boiled eggs, custard, ice cream, etc. I believe that the average person eating a wafer of bread comparable to the small Host would not chew it at all. It is true, the Greek words used in St. John's Gospel (6:54, 56) to transcribe the words of Christ in promising the Holy Eucharist—ὁ τρώγων—literally signify "he who grinds with his teeth." But the official translations of the Greek Testament, especially the Vulgate, do not emphasize this point, but simply render the Greek word as *eat.* From this we can conclude that the word is employed to signify the literalness of the *eating* which Christ demanded, rather than the particular mode of the eating. I would add that it would even seem better not to chew the sacred particle, since in that case small fragments might lodge in the teeth and remain there for several hours.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

CONFORMITY OF MASS AND OFFICE

Question: In keeping with the question "Lenten Mass and Office" (*The American Ecclesiastical Review,* Jan. 1960, p. 50), would one be expected to say the Office of the Dead after offering a Requiem Mass in the morning?

Answer: When we speak of conforming the office to the Mass we are referring, of course, to Masses which follow the liturgical calendar and not to votive Masses which are "outside the Liturgy of the day" (J. B. O'Connell, *The Celebration of the Mass,* p. 136). The Requiem Mass is a type of votive Mass, except for the Requiem on Nov. 2nd, which is the calendar Mass. In the light of the history of the breviary, this question is not quite so facetious as it was obviously meant to be. There was a time, dating back before the fourteenth century and persisting through several centuries, when the Office of the Dead, which then lacked Little Hours and Compline, was of obligation on all ferias and simple feasts in addition to the office of the day. Still earlier, some time after the creation of the Office of the Dead at Rome in the eighth century or earlier, the custom developed in Frankish countries of considering this office the necessary complement of every solemn Mass for the dead, whether on the day of burial or on the anniversary. The reform of the breviary under Pius V suppressed almost entirely the Office of the Dead and St. Pius X, carrying the earlier reform still further, gave us our present restricted use of this office on All Souls' Day, at the same time adding Little Hours and Compline to make it a complete office from First Vespers to the end of None.

There is no law, as far as I know, which would prevent our inquirer from reciting the Office of the Dead on the days when he offers a Requiem Mass provided he is careful to fulfill his obligation by reciting the office of the day.

PROPER OF A SUNG MASS

Question: Must the Proper of the Mass be sung by the choir in a *Missa cantata* or a Solemn Mass, or may the choir, as I have observed, begin with the *Kyrie* and sing only the Ordinary?

Answer: "The following parts shall never be omitted by the choir at a high or solemn Mass: the Introit; the Kyrie; the Gloria; the Gradual; the Tract; the Alleluia; the Sequence; the Credo;

the Offertory; the Sanctus; the Benedictus; the Agnus Dei; the Communion Antiphon; the various Responses (S.R.C. 2959, II; 3365, VII; 3624, XI; 4054, VI)." *Matters Liturgical,* No. 29, p. 46. The author might have added, for the benefit of precisians: "except when any of these parts are excluded by the Ordo or the rules governing the particular season."

FIRST FRIDAY DEVOTIONS

Question: Special devotions are prescribed in honor of the Sacred Heart, in moral union, at least, with the First Friday Mass (*Cogitationes*); so I am given to understand (*Matters Liturgical,* No. 275). In view of the fact that these devotions are not determined, would the singing of the Mass itself be considered adequate to answer the need of special devotions? Would the singing of four or five hymns in honor of the Sacred Heart during a read Mass be adequate?

Answer: Your question shifts the emphasis somewhat. The First Friday devotions are not prescribed. Rather, where devotions are held in honor of the Sacred Heart on the First Friday of the month, the Holy See has granted the privilege of offering *one* votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, in at least moral union with the devotions, after the manner of a solemn votive Mass, whether the Mass be high, solemn, or a low Mass. As you say, the devotions are not determined but rubricists cite as examples Benediction, Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament (some have it all day), the recitation of the Litany of the Sacred Heart or of acts of reparation and consecration to the Sacred Heart, a general (or almost general) Communion in honor of the Sacred Heart. This last suggestion would seem to solve your problem, for the crowds that flock to our parish churches on the First Friday are intent on receiving Holy Communion (some, perhaps, with too little appreciation of the Mass itself). Even a casual non-Catholic observer who had seen the same church on an ordinary weekday morning would be forced to conclude that the First Friday crowd obviously indicates something very special, special enough in the mind of the priest, therefore, to warrant his using the privileged votive Mass. Your suggestion of the singing of some hymns in honor of the Sacred Heart at a low Mass would also seem to be a satis-

factory solution, but I would not agree that the singing of the Mass itself would be adequate where there would not be the general or almost general Communion.

It must be remembered that only one such priviliged Mass may be offered in any one church. If the calendar of the day permits the ordinary votive Mass, then of course any or all the Masses may be of the Sacred Heart *(Cogitationes)* but without *Gloria, Credo,* and with *Benedicamus Domino.* Since the DGRS of March 23, 1955 the *Credo* is included only when the privileged Mass is *sung.*

JOHN P. MCCORMICK, S.S.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The leading article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for May 1910 is entitled "The Gift of Tongues in the Early Church." The author, Fr. W. Sheppard, O.S.B., explains that the old interpretation was that the recipients of this gift were supernaturally enabled to speak various languages, while a modern interpretation holds that the expression refers to ecstatic and perhaps incoherent ejaculations prompted by powerful religious emotions. Fr. Sheppard believes that, from the theological standpoint, this latter view is tenable, but argues for the trational opinion. . . . Fr. W. Leen writes on "The Conditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church in America." He believes that in 1910 there were in the United States about 350,000 Eastern Orthodox Christians, with about 120 churches and 160 clergymen. He relates that an Episcopalian clergyman who had joined the Russian Orthodox Church was reordained—a procedure that indicated the refusal of the Orthodox bishop to acknowledge the validity of Anglican Orders. . . . M. Nesbitt contributes an interesting article on "Devotion to Our Blessed Lady in Ancient Ireland.". . . Fr. A. Brucker, S.J., writes on "Ecclesiastical Heraldry.". . . Several letters appear in reference to the view of Fr. Stephen Donovan, O.F.M., to the effect that at times the state may inflict sterilization. Fr. Donovan, writing himself, implies that he had in mind punitive sterilization. . . . An anonymous writer explains that the Popes never condemned the use of tobacco, but some Popes condemned the chewing and snuffing of tobacco *in church* as contrary to the dignity and cleanliness of the sacred place.

F. J. C.

Book Reviews

THE TESTIMONY OF THE PATRISTIC AGE CONCERNING MARY'S DEATH. By Walter J. Burghardt, S.J. Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1957. Pp. VIII + 59. 95¢.

This small volume, the second in a series of attractive paper-backs being prepared by the faculty of Woodstock College, is a slightly revised version of an article which appeared in the 1957 volume of *Marian Studies*. The author presents and evaluates the evidence for Mary's death in the writings of the Patristic Age.

The testimony of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers prior to the Council of Ephesus in 431 is in general inconclusive. Only Epiphanius expressly treated the problem which he saw rose from the silence of Scripture on the point. Although he hesitated to publicly take up a positive position, he did offer some possible solutions. His testimony shows the lack of any positive historical tradition in Palestine.

Valuable evidence, however, is found in the popular sixth century *Transitus Mariae* stories which, although divergent in many respects, without exception treat Mary's death. Though not historical documents, they witness to the historical fact of a widespread conviction among several centuries of Christians in both the East and the West that Mary died. It cannot be inferred, as Father Burghardt points out, that this conviction is a *sensus fidelium*, since the conviction is neither sufficiently in evidence nor demonstratively indicative of magisterial teaching. Such unanimity of subject, nevertheless, suggests an earlier tradition from which they had drawn.

Further evidence is had in the Feast of the Dormition, the earliest evidence for which comes from the sixth century in the East. By the eighth century this August 15th feast had spread to Rome and as far as Gaul and England. Slowly the emphasis had shifted from the Dormition to the Assumption. Father Burghardt believes the liturgy of the dormition conveys the conviction of the teaching Church, the ordinary magisterium, that Mary died a natural death.

The Greek homilies of the seventh and eighth centuries are unanimous in their strong affirmations of Our Lady's death. In them, for the first time, a theology of her death appears. It is not, however, through speculative reason that these Fathers affirm the fact of her death, but rather because the Church had affirmed it in the Feast of the Dormition.

Testimony from western writings, on the other hand, is scarce, but sufficient to show the existence of a tradition as early as 570 that Mary's tomb was in Jerusalem. In the final section the author examines the two rival traditions for the location of Our Lady's tomb. Alongside the arguments for a Jerusalem site, the claims of Ephesus appear weak. The author thinks the faithful were probably visiting the tomb at Gethsemene soon after the Council of Ephesus.

This little work is scholarly and at the same time attractive in format, readable, and brief. The fourteen pages of footnotes are wisely placed at the end of the book. It is of value not only to the specialist in the field, but to all who are seriously interested in the question of Mary's death.

THEODORE A. VIERRA, C.S.P.

FRAGEN DER THEOLOGIE HEUTE. Edited by Johannes Feiner, Josef Trütsch, Franz Böckle. Zurich: Benziger, 1957. Pp. 588. Fr. 25.85

In honor of the 150th Jubilee of the Seminary of St. Luzi in Chur, these three professors at the seminary gathered together and edited twenty-one articles intended to give a brief survey of the central questions in present-day theological discussions. Seven articles are concerned with Fundamental Theology, nine deal with Dogma, and the remaining six treat of Moral Theology and questions related to the apostolate.

This is not a volume that can actually be reviewed; it is a survey in itself, and contains a mass of material. But it cannot be praised too highly! The editors note in the preface that there is a tremendous amount of writing being done today in regard to theological sciences. Even those priests who are engaged in teaching theology are ready to admit that they are nearly overwhelmed by the mass of material that continues to appear. They must struggle to keep up with the discussions in their own particular field, let alone those in allied fields. This is all the more true of priests engaged in parish or other types of priestly work, who are deeply interested in theology and would like to know what is going on, but who simply do not have the time to keep up with this mass of literature, even in a limited degree.

The goal of the editors, therefore, was to try to bring those who are not specialists in the individual fields "up to date," as it were, with the many things that are being discussed today. They were convinced that this material has its pastoral import, and that therefore the insights of current discussions ought to pass beyond the limited circle of the specialists. While recognizing the disadvantages of a collection of this

sort, they also emphasize the great benefit that can be reaped by others from such a volume, written by men who are recognized as specialists in their own field. They are careful to point out on the first page that the volume is not presented as an addition to scientific research; it simply aims at giving the parish priest or the interested laity some orientation in the theological questions of the day—questions which, as they note, can obviously not be incorporated into theological manuals immediately; that takes more time.

It is indeed gratifying to witness such a concern on the part of these specialists. Certainly the professional scholar has an obligation to inform others about matters they themselves cannot investigate (even by way of the periodical literature); he alone has the time and opportunity to read and evaluate this mass of material. Yet it is an obligation so often neglected.

Those who contributed to the volume were also convinced of this same need, and their names are indication enough of the high caliber of the work: Aloys Grillmeier, Josef Rupert Geiselmann, Karl Rahner, Heinrich Schillebeeckx, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Arthur-Fridolin Utz among others, as well as the three editors (each of whom contributed an essay).

The topics treated are related to the primary concerns of the day: myth and revelation; faith and knowledge; tradition; scriptural advances; nature and grace; the place of Christ in theology; Mariology; the role of the laity in the Church; theology and the social sciences; the theological basis of the present liturgical renewal, to mention a few.

The plan of the book was good, and the goal envisioned has been achieved admirably. It is a volume that any priest would be happy to possess, and we might express the fond hope that some energetic translator, looking for a worthwhile task, will very soon turn his eyes toward this collection of highly informative essays.

JOHN L. MURPHY

MORAL THEOLOGY, A COMPLETE COURSE, BASED ON ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AND THE BEST MODERN AUTHORITIES. By John A. McHugh, O.P. and Charles J. Callan, O.P. Revised and Enlarged by Edward P. Farrell, O.P. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1958. Two volumes. Pp. 711, 826. $20 Set.

The original edition of this work has been, as the revisor notes, "a standard guide for the past thirty years." As one of the few manuals of moral theology in English it has served well the many priests who

keep it at hand as a reference work. Seldom will one go into a rectory in this country without finding this set on the shelves of the pastor's study. A handy reference book in moral theology, in English, written by Americans, two scholars such as Fathers Callan and McHugh, could not but have a tremendous appeal to the American clergy.

Advancement in medical science leading to new medico-moral problems, the many papal pronouncements, especially during the recent reign of Pope Pius XII, changes in ecclesiastical discipline, have all made a manual as old as this unsatisfactory as the last answer, often as the right answer, to many of the problems confronting one today in moral matters. Undoubtedly many priests rejoiced to learn of the revision of this work by Father Edward P. Farrell, O.P., Professor of Moral Theology at the Dominican House of Studies in Washington, D. C., and hastened to place an order for it at the pre-publication price offered by the publisher.

It is indeed a difficult task to revise a book written by others, have the book remain their work, yet make the necessary changes. Fr. Farrell did everything we could have expected him to do within the limitations placed by the publisher. He has taken cognizance of the new problems in moral theology and added to the text treatment of problems such as those arising from nuclear warfare and the new legislation on the Eucharistic Fast, adapted the text to contain the more recent opinions of theologians on the gravity of matter in theft, the morality of periodic continence, organic transplants, etc. One can look in vain for any failure to up-date the manual.

The price asked by the publisher for the changes made in the revision does seem excessive, especially in light of the fact that the reuse of the old text through off-set printing makes the revision somewhat less satisfactory than the old as to printing and readability. It seems a shame that those who already possess a copy of the set should have to purchase the revised text in order to obtain the additions, that they were not printed as a Supplement and made available to the owners of the original. This, perhaps, would not have been good business from the viewpoint of those interested in the sale of books, but it would have saved many from purchasing again that which they already had. Then the revised copy could have been sold to new purchasers. Or better yet, a real revision made with a rewriting at least of parts in which many improvements could be incorporated, for example, a more critical use of Scripture and Tradition, the substitution of cases to replace the examples used which often are misleading in an understanding of the principles involved.

The revisor of the manual in making changes in the Introduction shows his intention to incorporate into the revision a tract on Grace and to eliminate the tract on the Sacraments. Reading his proposal this reviewer looked into the revision for the treatment on Grace. At first it seemed that the Index, identical in the old and new, was at fault, for in both is to be found only the reference to the one statement in No. 284 that "Grace belongs to Dogmatic Theology." This questionable statement proves to be the total treatment on Grace to be found even in the revised text. The tract on the Sacraments remains in the revision. That this addition and elimination intended by the revisor were never realized seems to indicate some confusion on the part of the editor.

Rev. Frederick E. Klueg, O.P.

The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described. By Adrian Fortescue and J. B. O'Connell. With a Preface by the Archbishop of Birmingham and an Appendix on the Ceremonies of the Ritual in the U. S. A. by Frederick R. McManus. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1958. Pp. 428. $7.50.

Neither Father Fortescue nor Father O'Connell need an introduction to priests in this country and in England. Their books of ceremonies have been standard guides throughout the years. However, with the appearance of new rituals, new Roman legislation, and numerous recent replies from the Sacred Congregation of Rites, new instructions on ceremonies and rubrics are definitely welcome.

Taking these changes into account, Father O'Connell has brought his book up to date and has completely revised his treatment of the ceremonies. But the changes have been so frequent that it is still difficult to find a ceremony book that is *absolutely* up to date. To illustrate this point, we mention the section on the Dialogue Mass, in which the author refers to the decree on Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy (Sept. 3, 1958). The *imprimatur* to this new edition was given on June 16, 1958. Certainly this subject demands a much more detailed treatment than it receives in the present volume. We suspect that this section was inserted very hurriedly after the book itself had already gone to press.

As in previous editions, the diagrams and illustrations are excellent and deserve special commendation. It is no easy task to execute these well. To Americans some of the terms employed in this volume will seem strange. We are not accustomed to terms like "foot-pace," "vulgar tongue," "tunicle," and "kneeling-desk."

The book is very comprehensive. It covers almost every ceremony a parish priest will be called upon to perform. And it is truly an all-purpose manual of ceremonies, since it takes cognizance of not only the ceremonies connected with parish functions, but also of some of the more common episcopal ceremonies.

American priests will be happy to see the section on confirmation administered by the priest, as well as the Appendix by our own Fr. Frederick R. McManus, which deals with the ceremonies involved in the use of the United States Ritual, the *Collectio Rituum* in particular.

We highly recommend this work and we take this occasion to congratulate Father O'Connell for his constant and profound interest in the ceremonial aspect of the liturgical movement.

WALTER J. SCHMITZ, S.S.

THE HOLY RULE. By Hubert van Zeller, O.S.B. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. Pp. xii + 476. $7.50.

The Rule of St. Benedict has been described by H. Daniel-Rops as a masterpiece of humane legislation. Its sustained success is due, he affirms, to the fact that it "shows itself both merciful and resolute, generous and prudent towards the frailities of mankind." This balance and discretion which give the Rule its beauty and utility have not been overlooked in the interpretation recently published by Dom Hubert van Zeller, monk of Downside Abbey, England. His notes and comments manifest remarkably well the qualities of prudence and understanding on which St. Benedict based his Rule. He illustrates by his remarks the fact which the long centuries of monastic tradition have proved, that the Rule of St. Benedict is eminently well suited to anyone "who truly seeks God."

Dom van Zeller has not written a strict scientific commentary. We find no critical apparatus. Controversy, while not altogether eliminated, has been judiciously avoided in most cases. The author writes "to present a working exposition of St. Benedict's Rule"; his aim is mainly that of instruction. We are given a straightforward explanation in which the purely nominal is reduced to a minimum. Using a "deductive, practical and empirical method," van Zeller endeavors to produce ***real*** assent; that is, to make the reader truly cognizant of the value of the Benedictine concept of religious perfection and to apply it to his own life.

The whole Rule—Prologue and seventy-three chapters—is thoughtfully investigated, though some passages, whose authenticity is doubt-

ful, have been omitted. Those great commentators of the Rule: Delatte, Morin, Butler, and van Houtryve, are frequently called upon to clarify and amplify. Chaper Seven "On Humility" merits special attention; for the author competently shows, without any artificiality or narrowness, the key-stone position this virtue has in the life of perfection. Van Zeller is correct in his claim that this chapter on humility "is the one that most clearly reveals the spirit of the legislator." It is with good reason that St. Benedict is called *humilitatis doctor*.

All Christians, the laity included, can read *The Holy Rule* with profit. The life St. Benedict describes is the Christian life built on the solid virtues of love, humility, self-restraint and work. There is no essential difference between the good monk and the good Christian. "Faith in Christ" is the theme of the Rule. As one grows in love, one re-lives more perfectly Christ's life. For anyone who is serious in his search for Christ, for anyone who values his gift of Faith, *The Holy Rule* can be a source of help and confidence.

PATRICK GRANFIELD, O.S.B.

NINE SERMONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE PSALMS. Translated and introduced by Edmund Hill, O.P. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1959. Pp. 177. $3.50.

The nine sermons which Fr. Hill has undertaken to translate are on Psalms 18, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30 (three sermons), and 31. Some of these are favorite Christian Psalms: "The heavens declare the glory of God"; "O God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" "The Lord is my light and my salvation"; "In you, O Lord, have I hoped." The Introduction describes the locale, the tone, the setting of the sermons, and offers a few notes on Augustine's method of using Scripture. The translation is admittedly very free—but anyone who has ever attempted to translate anything of Augustine will see the need for that. Augustine's sense of language is so keen that it is a weapon of his insight into *things;* his thought is often inseparable from its language, and translation therefore comes out awkward or lengthy where Augustine is brief and brilliant. Augustine says: *Ora de re, Psalle de se,* as Fr. Hill tells us in a footnote (p. 102). Fr. Hill has to say: "Sigh and pray about the hazards of present sadness, but fiddle cheerfully for the hopes of future gladness." The attempt to keep the jingle and yet catch all the connotations of *re, spe,* and *psalle* is commendable —if forced to bow helplessly and from a distance towards Augustine's cleverness.

But Augustine is not merely clever. He is profound, and his thought can swoop and soar. Yet he preaches as if carrying on conversations with his people. He asks questions and answers them, chides, advances, and dramatizes whole discussions (cf. pp. 54-60 for an imaginary confrontation with the local Donatists, and realize how Augustine's people are drawn in step by step to his emotion and understanding). And all the while he can be speaking of "the Great Church," a Church "not in a little corner of Africa" (p. 155), but a "Church everywhere" whose sound "has gone out into the whole earth for the one purpose of getting you into heaven." He can give a vision of the Church and grace that can take one's breath away. He is relentless and he asks, "Will you call me a pest because I go looking for my brother?" (p. 38).

MICHAEL NOVAK

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